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Wm. F. Buckley Jr. on the Liberal Whitewash – Page 60

NATIONAL REVIEW

THE MAN WHO INVENTED TERROR: ROBESPIERRE AND HIS REVOLUTION

Norman Gash
Erik v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn
John Lukacs
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RICHARD NIXON ON POWER AND HISTORY:

A Conversation with Paul Gottfried

TAKING THE HEAT: DO WE UNDERSTAND THE GREENHOUSE EFFECT?

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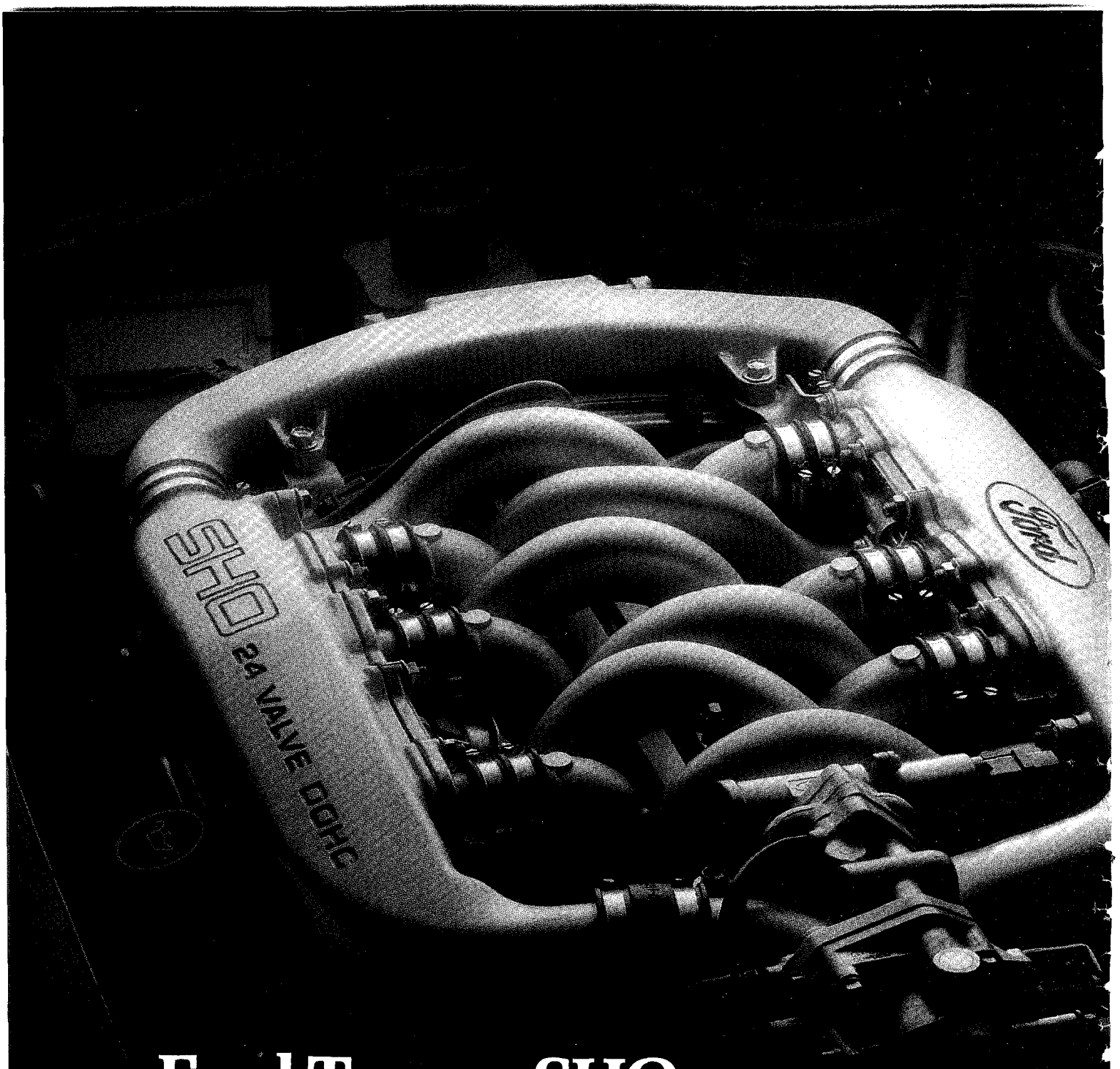

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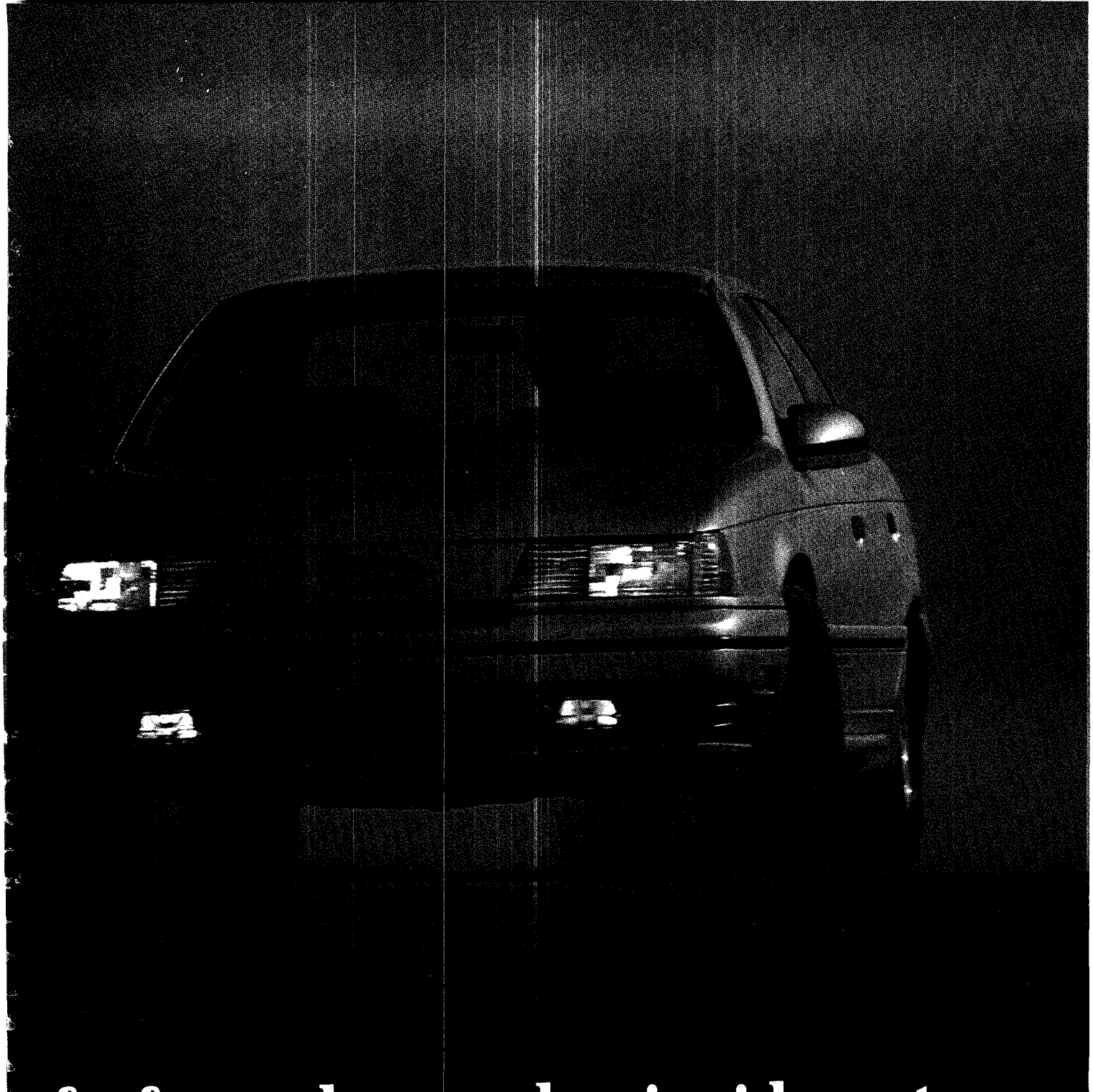

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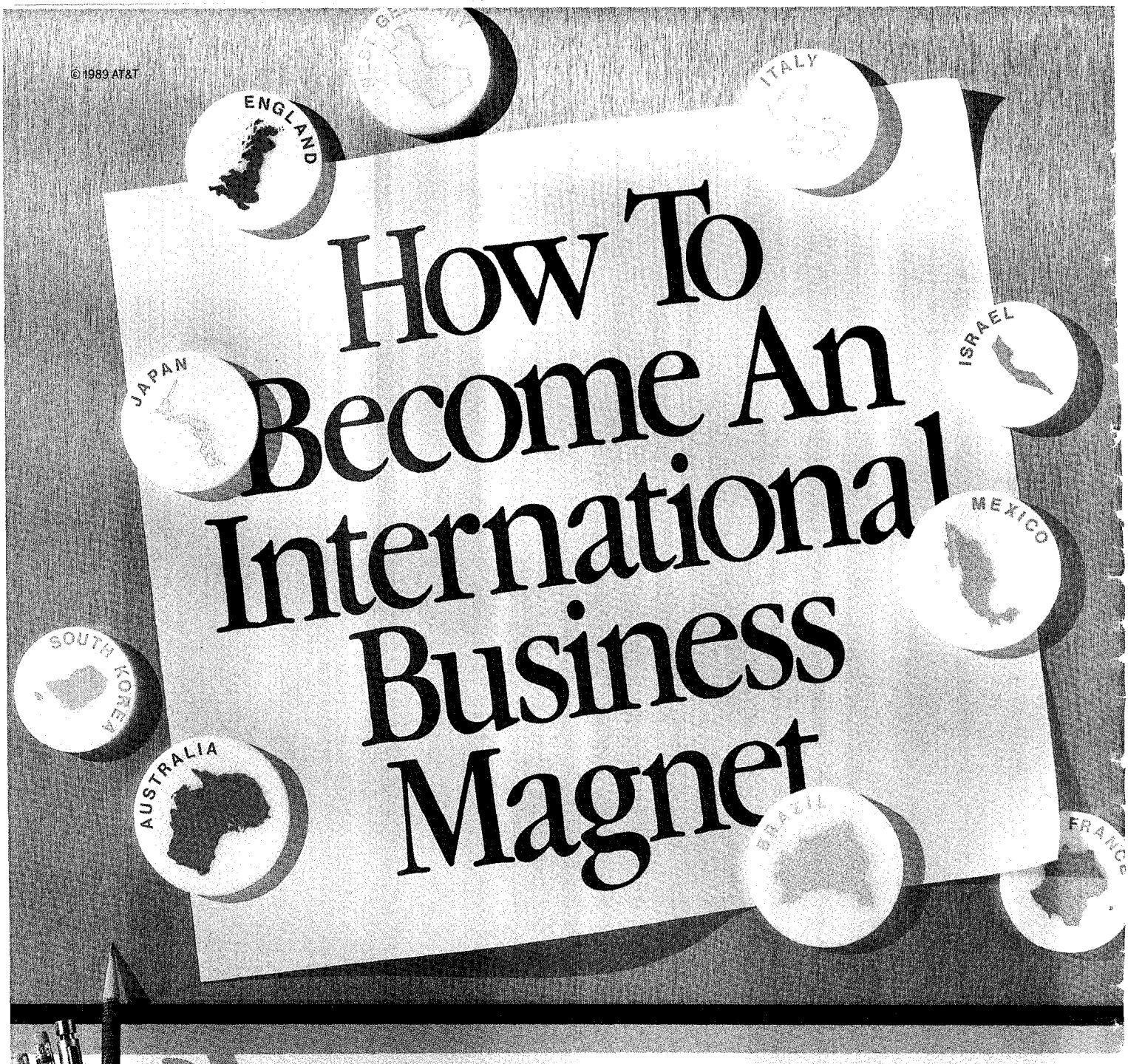

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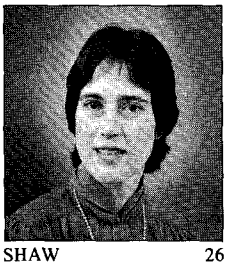
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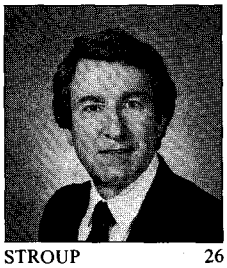
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LETTERS

Dole-ing It Out

Recently I addressed a breakfast meeting of the American Jewish Committee. During my remarks, I had the opportunity to make a pitch for Bill Lucas, President Bush's choice to head the Justice Department's civil-rights division. I also had the opportunity to sit next to Ralph Neas, whose organization—the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights—has gone on record in opposition to Bill Lucas's appointment.

When I got back to my office, I was more than a little interested in William McGurn's article, "Cool Hand Lucas" ["On the Scene," June 2]. McGurn quotes Father Lawrence Lucas, Bill's brother, as criticizing some of the "weak Nellies" in the black establishment, since "they give the impression that they can't make a move on their own without checking with Ralph Neas."

Though I do not frequently lace my speeches with the phrase "weak Nellies," my words to those attending the breakfast meeting echoed the words of Father Lucas. In fact, during the meeting, I was perhaps a little tougher on Mr. Neas—even though he professes to be a Republican—since I told the audience that Mr. Neas had no birthright to set the civil-rights agenda in this country. I also said that some of the civil-rights organizations today should do a bit more independent thinking.

So what's the rap that the NAACP, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and People for the American Way have laid on Bill Lucas? They claim he is "technically unqualified."

I cannot think of anyone who is more technically qualified than Bill Lucas—more technically qualified to know the real-life effects of racial discrimination and racial stereotyping, and more technically qualified to know what it takes to be a tough enforcer of our nation's civil-rights laws. Believe me, struggling out of poverty, finding yourself an orphan at age 14, raising a family of five children, and devoting more than 35 years to public service are going to give you some technical qualifications.

Mark my words: Bill Lucas will be an outstanding assistant attorney general. When he is finally confirmed by the Senate, I think some of the civil-rights organizations that opposed the Lucas nomination will have to sit down and take some truth serum. Do these organizations oppose the Lucas nomination because they think Bill Lucas is "technically unqualified"? Or do they resent—and perhaps fear—the challenge that an articulate black conservative may pose to the dogmatists in the civil-rights hierarchy?

Bob Dole
Senate Minority Leader
Washington, D.C.

Lucy in the Sky

In recent issues of *NR* I looked in vain for an "RIP" tribute to Lucille Ball: in my (and other Americans') estimation a fine lady, an incomparable comedienne, and an exponent of first-rate comedy—so rare on television these days.

Instead, I find a tribute to Abbie Hoffman ["Abbie Hoffman's Last Trip," "The Week," May 19]. If you think this human garbage deserves mention instead of oblivion, then I'd say your priorities are much confused.

John H. Harig
Cincinnati, Ohio

Neuhaus on Rockford

The reaction of the Rockford Institute ["Letters," June 30] to *NR*'s editorial "Unpleasant Business" [June 16] is most regrettable. I fear it can only deepen the rift between conservatives precipitated by the Rockford raid of May 5. For the sake of the record, some clarifications are required.

On the morning of Friday, May 5, five men from Rockford, accompanied by movers and locksmith, struck by surprise and forcibly shut down the offices of the Center on Religion & Society, putting its five staff members out on the street. It was, as the *NR* editorial stated, "much as Don Corleone would have done." One notes that the letter from Rockford does not even mention, never mind try to justify, that shabby violation of civilized behavior. Yet that outrage was at the heart of the editorial to which Rockford is putatively responding. On that crucial matter the Rockford letter is, to put it delicately, evasive.

The letter makes a number of charges against me. Let the record show that in the five years of our association Rockford never once uttered a word of criticism about the Center. Never once. Rockford acknowledged that the Cen- →

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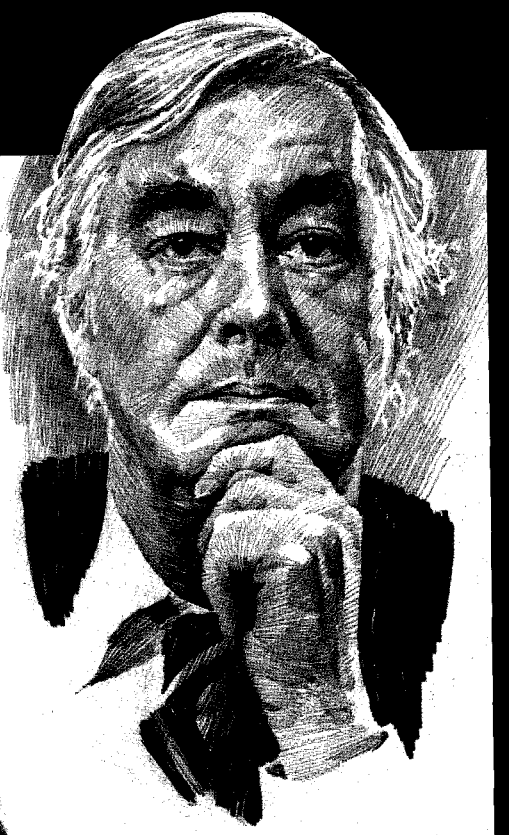

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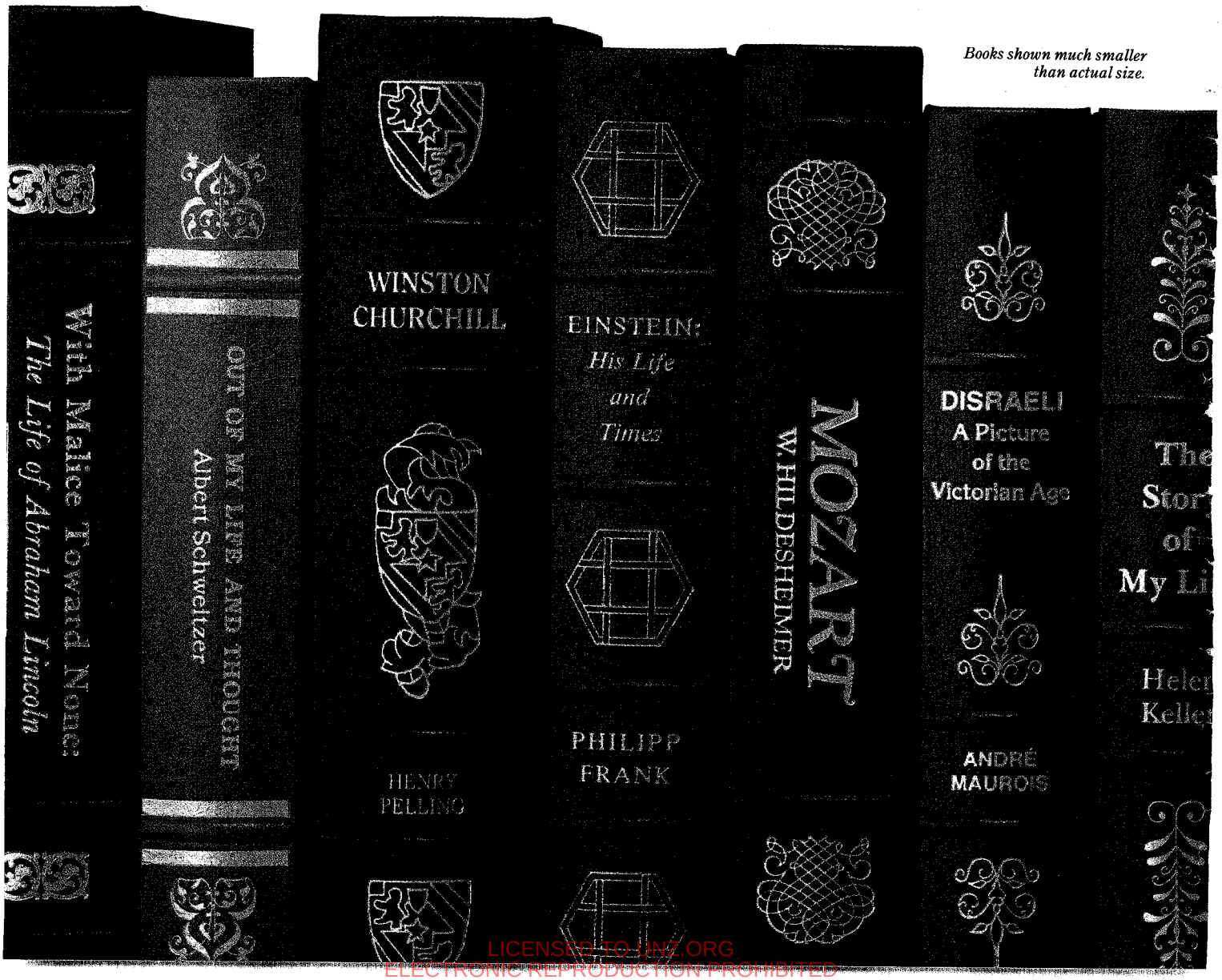

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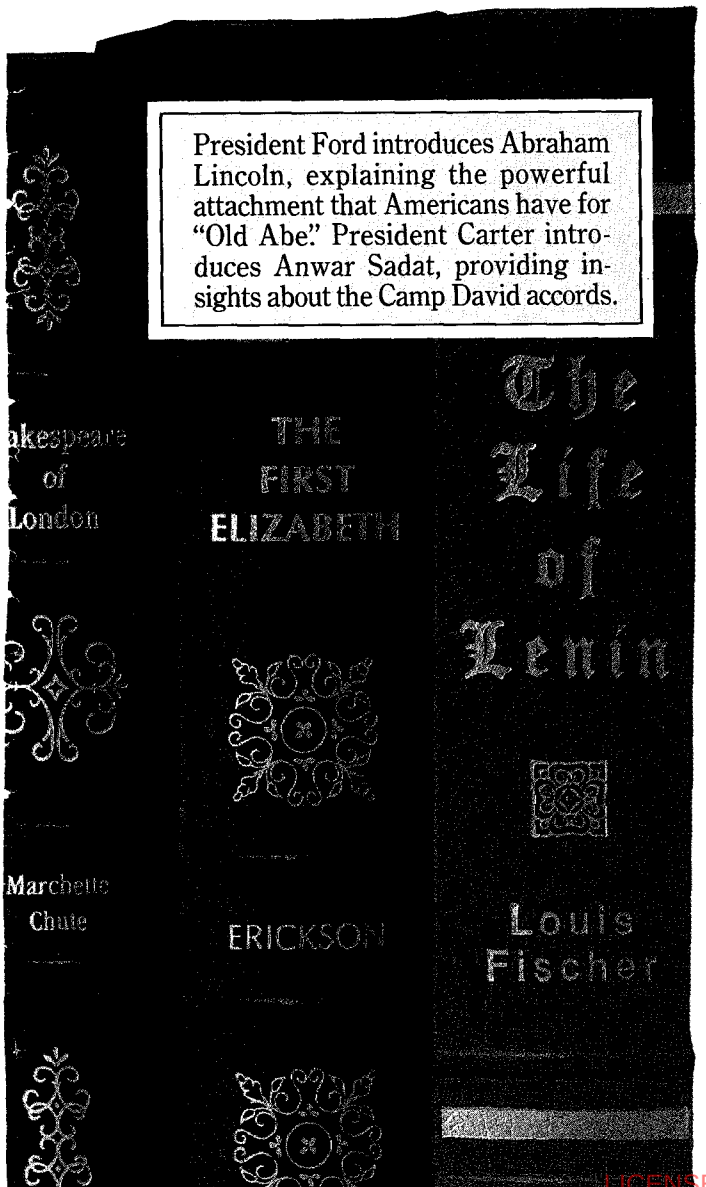

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→ ter gave it a visibility and credibility that it had not previously enjoyed. We heard nothing but praise and encouragement from Rockford—until we were negotiating an amicable separation and Rockford felt it was not going to get enough money from the arrangement we proposed. From gentlemen one might have expected a counterproposal rather than the early-morning raid of May 5.

Rockford now says that I interfered with its receiving two large financial grants. That is false. When the two foundations in question learned that we were negotiating a separation, and when they learned that Rockford intended to use the money to pay its past expenses rather than for the future operation of the Center, they decided not to give the grants. I must underscore that we at the Center had no responsibility for finances. The Center did not even have a bank account. Money matters were handled entirely by Rockford. The financial problems that Rockford says it has are a matter to be settled between it and its donors.

Rockford now says that, as director of the Center, I "made damaging allegations concerning [my] employer." It is true that I privately criticized Rockford's magazine, *Chronicles*, to a number of friends and associates. I had not been told that a condition of employment at Rockford was a willingness to sign away one's First Amendment rights.

Rockford now says that I "threatened" it by saying that, if we did not reach a settlement, I would criticize it publicly. That is false. It is obvious that, if negotiations failed, I would have to explain to supporters why we could no longer be associated with Rockford. I did not threaten it. However, given the serious reasons for our unhappiness with Rockford, it is perhaps understandable that it viewed public discussion of those reasons as threatening.

Rockford now says that, after the May 5 raid, it went to the press because it expected us to go to the press. The fact is that my associates and I had decided not to make this unpleasantness public. We did not talk to the press until reporters—prompted by Rockford's very active, if inexplicable, search for publicity—asked for our response to Rockford's charges and behavior.

Rockford now speaks of "Neuhaus's request" to detach the Center from Rockford. It is worth recording that the first suggestion that there should be a separation came from John Howard on the Rockford side. We went along with that suggestion when it became apparent that Rockford was not prepared to address the concerns we had expressed about *Chronicles*. For more than two years those concerns had been privately, and ever more urgently, communicated to Rockford. Those concerns went far beyond, although they were vividly indicated by, *Chronicles*' endorsement of Gore Vidal as champion of conservatism.

Chief among those concerns was what we viewed as that magazine's indulgence in nativism, and its increasingly shrill and mean-spirited war on conservatives who did not pass its ideological tests. Nativism is often attended by other extreme views, one of which is discussed in my review of Will Herberg in this issue [p. 50]. These are questions of abiding concern and I will address them more fully in these pages in due course. Now, people disagree on these matters. It is much like the dispute over pornography. One man's pornography is another's erotic literature. The Supreme Court has said that "community standards" should rule. That is not intellectually satisfying law, but it may help in understanding our judgment that the standards of *Chronicles* are not those of a community of discourse with which we wish to be associated.

The *NR* editorial suggests that *Chronicles* has suffered "a paralysis of the critical and moral faculties." In its reaction to that editorial, Rockford suggests that NATIONAL REVIEW has lost its vitality and *Chronicles* is now the voice of authentic conservatism. Readers may find that suggestion impertinent, outrageous, or just amusing.

In any event, we want to put this unhappy chapter behind us and get on with our work. The staff of the former New York Center is united, determined, and immensely grateful for the outpouring of support from those who understand that the conservative movement does not have time to indulge in ideological fractiousness. As for the experience of these last weeks, I would not recommend it to anyone. Like the fellow in Lincoln's tale who was tarred and feathered, were it not for the honor I would just as soon have left peacefully.

A final question: If the charges made by Rockford against my colleagues and me were true—instead of being false, as they are—would they justify, or even begin to explain, what the Rockford Institute did on the morning of Friday, May 5, 1989? I think not.

Richard John Neuhaus
New York, N.Y.

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FOR THE RECORD

What about the new Democratic House leadership team: **Tom Foley**, **Richard Gephardt**, **William Gray**? Columnists **Evans & Novak** see it as improvement. Foley, they say, is less partisan than **Jim Wright**, Gephardt less abrasive than **Tony Coelho**. They point out that Gephardt was an original backer of tax reform in Reagan years, and that Foley supported him. More important, say E&N, the loss of Wright and Coelho "means that Democratic efforts to run the government from Capitol Hill will be sharply diminished." . . . Are the long knives back in their sheaths? Not so's you'd notice. Rep. **Beryl Anthony** (Ark.), chairman of Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, hopes to drag out investigation of Republican Whip **Newt Gingrich**'s book-publishing deal as long as possible. "They [the GOP and Gingrich] have had fun. We've had to grimace and hunker down. They are now getting ready to see what it feels like. I think it will be very therapeutic for our members." . . . **Tony Podesta**, a veteran Democratic political consultant, is delighted to see Republican National Committee chairman **Lee Atwater** in hot water over RNC memo that linked Foley with gay Rep. **Barney Frank**. "This may not be a mortal wound, but it's going to be one that puts him [Atwater] in traction for a long time." . . . At weekend meeting of Republican National Committee, Gingrich and Atwater, and their fighting tactics, were acclaimed by the troops. Said one official: "Forty per cent of these guys are new state chairmen, and they're cutters . . . They all want to win. They believe in tough, aggressive politics."

"You realize what a void he has left in our life," commented **David Broder**, contrasting **Ronald Reagan**'s reaction to Tiananmen Square to pallid regrets of others. "You cannot massacre an idea," said Reagan in London. "You cannot run tanks over hope. You cannot riddle people's yearnings with bullets." And he went on to warn China's rulers that in an age in which "electronic beams blow through the Iron Curtain as if it were lace," they cannot conceal their bloody repression. . . . The Voice of America beamed stories of the repression to two thousand satellite dishes in Mainland China, most of them controlled by units of the People's Liberation Army, and increased its radio broadcasts to China by 25 per cent, switching to an all-news format. VOA Director **Richard Carlson** estimates that one hundred million Chinese were listening, despite efforts by Chinese authorities to jam broadcasts. . . . On night of massacre, one Radio Peking announcer was on the air briefly. "This is Radio Peking," he said. "Please remember June 3, 1989. . . . Thousands of people, most of them innocent civilians, were killed by fully armed soldiers. . . . Among the killed are our colleagues at Radio Peking." Shortly thereafter he was silenced. . . . In San Francisco, **Stanley Lubman**, whose law firm represents companies doing business in China, says they may feel that "a government that tells its people that there were no students fired on in the square could also mislead potential foreign investors." . . . In Poland, Solidarity strategist **Adam Michnik**, urging Poles not to push the Communist government too fast or too hard, warned that "the alternative to the round table [at which the recent elections were negotiated] is what happened in Tbilisi and Peking."

Allen, *Punch* / Rothco

"It replaces the six that used to come at once."

Former Virginia Attorney General **Marshall Coleman** scored upset of season in Virginia's three-way GOP gubernatorial primary, coming up 16 points to overtake May 15 front-runner, former Sen. **Paul Trible**. Coleman had support of Reagan White House insiders. He will take on Lt. Gov. **L. Douglas Wilder**, a black candidate who spurned **Jesse Jackson**'s support in his last race. If Wilder wins he will be the nation's first black governor. . . . In New Jersey, the other major race of the year, it will be conservative Rep. **Jim Courter** (ACU: 74 per cent) *v.* liberal Rep. **Jim Florio** (ACU: 14 per cent) for governor. . . . In New York, an NBC rundown of complicated mayoral field shows flamboyant former U.S. Attorney **Rudolph Giuliani** winning in three-man face-off: Giuliani 43 per cent, **Ed Koch** 24 per cent, **David Dinkins** (the black candidate) 21 per cent.

Look for: New TV program *Money Politics*, Channel 7 (ABC) in Washington, Sundays at 11:00 A.M., preceding *This Week with David Brinkley*. Produced by **Neal Freeman**'s Blackwell Corporation, *Money Politics* will discuss the interaction of money and politics. Host: *Roll Call*'s **Jim Glassman**. Panelists: *WSJ*'s **Alan Murray**, columnist Robert Novak, Harvard's **Robert Reich**. Freeman hopes to syndicate the program. . . . **Brent Bozell** and **Brent Baker**'s Media Research Center's new bi-monthly, *TV, etc.*, will document antics of Hollywood Left. (Media Research Center, 111 South Columbus Street, Arlington, Va. 22314.)

Wishes he hadn't said it: Back in 1984 Princeton's **Richard Falk** was still denying that the late and unlamented **Ayatollah Khomeini** was a fanatic. "This seems certainly and happily false," said Falk. "[He] may yet provide us with a desperately needed model of humane governance for a Third World country."

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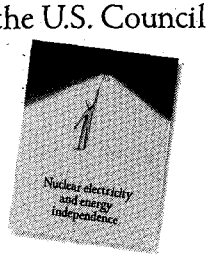

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THE WEEK

☐ Jesse Jackson may run for mayor of Washington. Serve them both right.

☐ You don't have to be Machiavelli to tear your hair over the political gaucherie of the Bush Administration, which has fallen HL&S for the Democrats' favorite trick, "Raise the Minimum Wage!" This classic sting works as follows: The Democrats note with indignation that the minimum wage is a measly $X. They propose to raise it to a generous $X + $1. The "mark" (Democratic patois for a Republican President) doesn't retort with reminders of property rights, the free market, or the self-defeating inefficiency of the minimum wage. No, he cries: "That's too much! I'll have to veto it! But how about if we compromise on $X + 49¢?" Laughing on the inside, the Democrats shriek: "Isn't that just like a heartless Republican skinflint who knows nothing of the problems of ordinary people? Have you ever tried to support a starving family on $X + 49¢?" So it has gone in this case. George Bush concedes the principle, and haggles over the details. We realize there's one born every minute, but why must he always grow up to be a Republican?

☐ The ascension of Richard Gephardt and William Gray to the number-two and -three slots in the House has potential ramifications beyond that body. Gephardt has already run for President once, of course. The consensus of the inside-baseball types was that if he had had a bigger bankroll going into Super Tuesday, he might have made it all the way to November. He also hit on an issue, protectionism, of which we have surely not heard the last. Gray, meanwhile, as the first black to hold a leadership position in Congress, is in a position to add to a solid political résumé. When the time comes, perhaps sooner rather than later, to sweep up the ticker tape after the Jesse Jackson Parade, the Democratic Party will be eager to put a black face with a real record on some ticket. We're not betting on Gephardt-Gray just yet, but our line to Ladbroke's is open.

☐ "Have you no sense of decency, sir?" This question posed to Senator McCarthy during the Army-McCarthy trial was quoted as the lead to a full-page piece in the June 19 issue of *Time* on the now-infamous Republican National Committee memo implying that Thomas Foley was gay. Entitled "How to Spread a Smear," the article correctly noted that for a smear to be "effective" the author "must be both coy and cowardly: he must make the charge stick while retaining deniability." This particular stone was all the more interesting given the glass house whence it came, one Margaret Carlson, the same Margaret Carlson who as Washington bureau chief of *Esquire* devoted her November 1985 column to "the persistent rumor that one of the potential 1988 presidential candidates has a homosexual past." That the column was cowardly goes without saying, but Miss Carlson also fulfilled the coyness requirement by not mentioning Jack Kemp by name, even though everyone knew he was the candidate in question. We'd say that *Time* has finally found a reporter who knows something about the subject she's writing about.

☐ Julian Dixon is chairman of the House ethics committee, which already had its hands full when it transpired that Mrs. Dixon had invested $15,000 in a gift shop at the Los Angeles International Airport shortly after the ethics committee hired a lawyer who had headed the Los Angeles Airport Commission. The California Democrat said there was no connection between the lawyer's getting the job and his wife's enormously profitable investment (she has made upwards of $200,000 in two years). It was also an accident that Dixon misreported Mrs. Dixon's investment on his disclosure form, so there's no need for an inquiry about that either. Dixon should be made chairman of the House Coincidence Committee.

☐ Incidentally, the code for L.A. International is LAX.

☐ Writing for the four dissenters in one of the recent affirmative-action cases (see p. 15), Justice John Paul Stevens called affirmative action necessary for the "eradication" of a "long history" of discrimination. The theme is familiar, but seldom are the words analyzed for their implications. Law, by its nature, is *prospective*: it forbids certain acts in the future. Murder laws forbid murder to occur again; they don't seek to "eradicate" a "long history" of homicide by permitting descendants of its victims to commit it against presumed descendants of those who committed

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it in the past. The Court's majority wisely ruled that the purpose of the civil-rights laws was not to authorize social engineering on behalf of one group at the expense of another, but to proscribe acts against individuals.

☐ The European Parliament is a way-station to a dream a-making—the dream of a united Europe. It sits in Strasbourg, along the Franco-German border; its members are elected by the 12 members of the European Community. But they cannot legislate—they can only nudge the EC Council of Ministers, which resides in Brussels, and exerts real power. The elections to the European Parliament are thus more symbolic than real, in power terms, but are useful political windsocks. In last week's elections, the Greens —the environmentalists—increased their vote substantially, doing well pretty much across the board. And so, in general, did the "outs." In Britain, the opposition Labour Party outpolled Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives, while in France, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's conservative slate outpolled François Mitterrand's Socialists. In West Germany, Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats took a hit, but from the far-right Republicans rather than the rival Social Democrats. Thus far, it is possible for European voters to indicate dissatisfaction in their choice of delegates to the European Parliament without risking the political consequences of a national upheaval.

☐ The Greeks invented democracy some 2,500 years ago, and one of these days they may even figure out how to make it work. But they've taken a faltering step in the right direction by turning the demagogic Socialist Andreas Papandreou out of office—we hope. Hurt by financial and sexual scandals, Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement received only 39 per cent of the vote, while the rival New Democracy Party has run up nearly 45 per cent. But that is not enough for a parliamentary majority. New Democracy's leader, Constantine Mitsotakis, has "a limited mission": to imprison anyone involved in the Koskotas affair, an embezzlement-and-bribery mess whose chief culprit says payoffs went all the way up to Papandreou. Papandreou blames the scandal on the CIA.

☐ In just eight years Hong Kong will be handed over to the same men who sent the tanks into Tiananmen Square. The horror Hong Kong Chinese felt at watching the massacre of their Mainland cousins was compounded by Sir Geoffrey Howe's statement just two days later that Britain's doors would remain closed, because opening them to British subjects in Hong Kong might "more than double the ethnic population of the United Kingdom." True enough, but yellow though they may be, these people are still British and as such deserve two things before they are handed over to Peking in 1997: the restoration of the right of abode in the UK and an immediate introduction of the long-promised democratic reforms. The first would provide the 3.25 million British Chinese an insurance policy they now lack. And although democracy would not in itself settle Hong Kong's future, it would mean that the people who live there would be determining that future for the first time, rather than a temporary colonial power. None of this would change minds in Peking. But it would be the first sign that Mrs. Thatcher is serious about her government's commitment to its own citizens.

☐ Dan Quayle, it seems, never actually expressed doubts about his fluency in Latin before embarking on a trip to Latin America, and the feelings he expressed about the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the Marxist FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador would sound good in any tongue. While the State Department and President Bush have voiced optimism about fair elections in Nicaragua next year, the Vice President called the plan "a sham" and said it will be dictated by the anti-democratic "axis of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Panama." He asked two FMLN leaders to lay down their weapons and stop marauding in El Salvador. And only Quayle seemed to know what President Bush means by "beyond containment": earlier, in Washington, Quayle explained the policy as "the peaceful liberation of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union from Communism." Quayle is still sharpening his diplomatic rhetoric, but he is emerging as the Administration's principal spokesman for coherence and substance in foreign policy.

☐ Imre Nagy, the Hungarian prime minister hanged for his unexpected support of the 1956 uprising, may turn out to be a figure of historical importance. A thoroughgoing member of the Communist Party, he sided with the people against the Party when the moment of political truth came. This happened three decades ago, but foreshadowed current upheavals. Comrade Nagy has now been posthumously pardoned by the Hungarian Communist Party, exhumed, and reburied as a patiotic martyr. It remains an open

On a Slow Boat

The Bush Administration moves
In prudent diplomatic grooves
As Hong Kong puffs to pack its bags
And, on the Mainland, chains and gags
Inhibit dormitory talk,
While in the square, no sign of chalk
Defaces monument or wall,
Where Mao's portrait casts a pall.

W. H. VON DREELE

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question whether the Communists are willing to bury the Party itself.

☐ DOPIEST COMMENT OF THE HOUR CONTEST. *Entrants:* 1) Mary McGrory (*Washington Post*, May 23): "Gorbachev is now seen worldwide as the herald and agent of change. He took the hammer to Communism and smashed it. There is no question about that." 2) Howard Fineman (*Newsweek*, June 5): "Representative David Bonior, 43, now the chief deputy whip, would like to move up to whip. The Vietnam vet is one of the Hill's last liberals." 3) Linda Ellerbee (CNN, June 2): " 'These boat people,' say the government of Hong Kong, 'they all want to go to America.' Well, I swear I don't know why, do you? I mean, take Vietnam. Why would any Vietnamese come to America after what America did for Vietnam? Don't they remember Mylai, napalm, Sylvester Stallone? Clearly they have no more sense over there than, say, Mexicans who keep trying to get into this country even though this country stole large parts of their country from them in the first place." Winner: Miss Ellerbee, by a neck.

☐ If it's true, as the conventional wisdom seems to be saying, that the problem with Congress is not one-party rule but incumbency, then we offer the following reform: In 1990, let *every* senator and representative be defeated by a rival of the other party. Fair enough?

☐ A California judge sentenced an auto thief to write: "If I don't own it, I won't take it" ten thousand times. He probably lent him his pen, too.

☐ The postmaster general says postal rates have to go up again in 1991, to pay for "mail delivery and automation." Apparently they are trying to retrain the horses.

☐ DEPARTMENT OF UNINTENDED CANDOR: Internal Revenue Service Form 911 is supposedly an application to relieve hardship, but the IRS spells it "relive."

From Russia with Love

Day in, day out, the giant planes
Descend in Kabul, bearing grains,
  Which could suggest,
Despite the flowers and the feast
Laid on in Bonn, that East is East
  And West is West.

W. H. VON DREELE

HDTV: A Better Buggy Whip

COMMERCE SECRETARY Robert Mosbacher has got off to a shaky start, giving speeches that suggest grandiose projects to funnel government money to pet industries. It all sounds surprisingly similar to the sort of "industrial policy" advice Michael Dukakis used to get from enthusiasts for mega-government, such as Robert Reich, Barry Bluestone, and Lester Thurow. As the *Wall Street Journal* reported, "Each new pronouncement by the [Commerce] Secretary sets trade group and corporation lobbyists scampering like children around a parent coming home with Christmas presents." The American Electronics Association (AEA) quickly scampered in hopes of getting at least $1.35 billion in government loans, grants, and loan guarantees to develop high-definition television (HDTV). The AEA knows what it's doing: once the government got in that deep, it would be too embarrassing not to provide as much more money as needed to keep the patient alive. Industry analysts, noted the *Financial Times*, "fear that HDTV would require government support well beyond that proposed in the industry plan."

If HDTV is such a promising idea, why does it need all these government subsidies? Picture quality will undoubtedly be better than on conventional television, but that doesn't ensure that consumers will feel the difference is worth the higher price. Computer monitors with so-called VGA color graphics likewise produce a much better picture than monochrome or CGA monitors, and also a much better picture than television (which could easily be displayed on such computer monitors). Yet the technically inferior monitors far outsell the VGA models, obviously because of price. The only company in the world that even claims to have a shot at producing HDTV at a reasonable price is an obscure little U.S. firm, Summa Medical, whose stock has soared because of patents, not subsidies.

George Gilder makes a persuasive argument that the whole idea of broadcast television, whether high definition or not, is rapidly being made obsolescent by the prospect of telecomputers. Extremely high picture quality is already available for computers at a fairly modest cost. And the digital technology of computers can handle far more information than the analogue methods of conventional television, which is also why compact discs are rapidly displacing records in the music business. To use taxpayer money to underwrite analogue television is about as useful as offering government subsidies to firms making high-quality record turntables. Digital telecomputers, on the other hand, could combine in one unit far more possibilities than today's best televisions and computers can handle separately, including new forms of interactive television (such as games, polls, and shopping) through

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networks of fiber-optic cables. Broadcast frequencies now used for television would then be freed for more valuable uses, such as air-traffic control, cellular telephones, and modems. No subsidies needed, thank you, since U.S. industry is already investing its own money in telecomputers and fiber optics.

Governments throughout the world have a dismal record of picking future technologies. The tendency of politicians and bureaucrats is instead to concentrate on the present, particularly on existing big businesses that prefer to invest in influencing government rather than in adapting to the future. (The new upstart industries, with few employees and better uses for their cash than lobbying or providing campaign funds, have far less political clout.) Even the Soviet Union is beginning to notice that all its government technological "plans" are leaving it further and further behind countries that permit the entrepreneurial incentives of free markets to function. Yet the U.S. spokesmen for "industrial policy" think their plans will somehow be superior to those of, say, Stalin. HDTV is beginning to look like the 1980s equivalent of the 1970s subsidies for Synfuels and windmill farms—just another expensive white elephant.

Ethics Update

YOU SAW the news story about the Republican National Committee memo insinuating that the new Speaker of the House, Tom Foley, is homosexual. When Congressman Barney Frank of Massachusetts made a stink about it (threatening to expose five Republicans in Congress as homosexual), the memo's author, Mark Goodin, was fired, with George Bush calling the insinuation "disgusting." The Democratic/media attack widened to include Lee Atwater and Newt Gingrich.

It was a cheap shot, all right, but what you didn't read was that the rumors about Foley had been circulating in Washington for months. They seem to have come, as Evans & Novak reported weeks ago, from the general direction of Jim Wright's office when Wright was still fighting to keep his job and Foley appeared to be his likely successor.

Goodin didn't originate the rumor; the Democrats themselves did. It says a lot about Washington that a) the Democrats could assume the moral offensive over so small an offense, b) the media could tell the story just the way Frank wanted it told, even as he engaged in public blackmail, and c) the Republicans would take it lying down.

So Goodin paid with his job for an innuendo, while Frank's Massachusetts colleague and fellow homosexual, Gerry Studds, suffered no more than a reprimand, six years ago, for actually sodomizing a House page. Under the House's unwritten ethics code, it's acceptable to be a homosexual, even an aggressive pederast. But it's a mortal sin to *call* someone a homosexual.

Republicans on Capitol Hill are still divided—or at least undecided—about how combative they should be on ethics issues. The correct answer is: very. Unless, that is, they prefer the peace of total acquiescence. The Democrats, judging from Frank's aggressive reaction, know how vulnerable they are. This is the Republicans' window of opportunity. But if they start fights they can't finish, they will get the sort of treatment they got this time. If they choose not to fight, why are they in Washington?

Real Rights

NOTWITHSTANDING the gnashing and wailing of the "civil-rights" community over the Supreme Court's recent decisions, the most striking thing about those decisions is their utter mundaneness.

In the first, the Court held that the burden of proof in employment-discrimination suits rests with the plaintiff (the employee or would-be employee) rather than with the defendant (the employer). In the second, it held that an affirmative-action agreement entered into between a city and spokesmen for racial minorities could be challenged in court by aggrieved white employees who were not parties to the agreement. In the third, it held that a Civil War statute prohibiting discrimination in the "making and enforcing" of contracts did not cover private discrimination occurring in other realms, in this case alleged sexual harassment.

That these three unremarkable propositions should occasion doomsday rhetoric from the octogenarians on the Court and their "civil-rights" flock merely indicates how far the Court had drifted in the direction of a racial spoils system. Justice Blackmun, for example, wondered "whether the majority still believes that race discrimination . . . is a problem in our society, or even remembers that it ever was." Inimitably, Ralph Neas of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights describes the latest decision as "radical," "extremist," and evidence of a court "run amok."

While, for the moment, we will defer judgment on whether this flurry of action by the Court marks any serious reversal of a twenty-year trend, it does reflect at least a considerable slowing of the momentum. *Ward's Cove*, *Martin*, and *Patterson* represent genuine judicial victories for conservatives from a Court now flowering (at least by a 5 to 4 margin) after two terms of Ronald Reagan.

What conservatives must do immediately is begin the process of consolidating these victories. First, the President needs to commit his Administration to resisting legislative assaults upon them. Given the affirmative-action enthusiasms displayed in the past by his Secretary of Labor, Elizabeth Dole, this may not be easy. Nevertheless, the Bush majority in this coun-

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try, every bit as much as the Reagan majority, is built in part upon deep dissatisfaction with the violence done traditional American ideals by racial preferential treatment. Ordinary Americans have borne the brunt of the judicial activists' "remedial" affirmative-action programs in the schools and workplaces.

Second, the quivering in the knees of congressional Republicans when they are confronted by "civil-rights" lobbyists must stop. Lobbyists should no longer be able to draw upon the capital of the civil-rights efforts of the past; their cause today is that of a narrow ideological special interest. No Republican legislator should feel any moral stake in that.

Third, if we are to institutionalize the Court's decisions, there must be groups and spokesmen to explain, defend, and lobby for them. A rule of thumb is that no business enterprise which has two or more "Affirmative-Action Coordinators" or "Vice Presidents for Minority Hiring" can be counted on in this effort. Similarly, organizations like the National Association of Manufacturers are more often found on the side of the "civil-rights" bureaucrats than on the side of the beleaguered small tool-and-dye shops. Intelligent and articulate spokesmen need to be drawn from among the small- and medium-sized businesses of the country, whose productivity and competitiveness suffer the most when government forces hiring-by-pigment upon the private sector.

Finally, sympathetic litigators need to do what they can to see that these decisions are not diluted in the lower courts by judges hostile to the Supreme Court's new direction. Forceful arguments by these litigators would seem most likely to enlist support from the narrow majority of circuit- and district-court judges appointed by Ronald Reagan.

Too often in recent years, conservative judicial victories have been tempered by subsequent judicial or legislative narrowing. With respect to the employment-discrimination trilogy, as well as any victory in the imminent abortion decision, everything must be done to resist future encroachments.

Don't Just Do Something, Stand There

"STAY THE COURSE" is an unappealing line of advice, especially if, as in the case of our behavior toward China, the course we're now on is so staid. Yet nothing has enlarged our room for maneuver. Deng & Co. must have expected a negative Western reaction to their crackdown, even if they did not foresee its intensity. They took the risk anyway, calculating, correctly, that their power was at stake. Against that bottom line, all other factors shrink. If the leadership undergoes unanticipated fissures, or if the actuarial tables catch up with Deng, as they finally caught up with the Ayatollah, Peking's susceptibility may increase. Not until then.

Even though high diplomacy is foreclosed, there remain numerous daily decisions.

1. *Fang and friends.* The dissidents who have sought refuge in the American embassy must stay there, until they are given passage to safe (i.e., non-Chinese) soil. We must be firm about this. Our devotion to our traditions is as strong as the Chinese despots' devotion to their jobs.

2. *Student and other visas.* All Chinese citizens in this country should be given unlimited extensions on their visas. If the intellectual cream of the next generation must return home while home remains a potential abattoir, the hard-liners have no incentive whatever to moderate their behavior. Let the students stay for the duration.

3. *Private anger.* Washington cannot give rhetorical aid and comfort to rebels in a xenophobic land without being cast as their puppetmaster. The American people need observe no such restrictions. William Raspberry has deplored the Administration's swiftness in cutting off military sales to China even as it resists sanctions against South Africa. But the disparity of private indignation is even greater, and cuts the other way. Will there be miniature Tiananmen Squares on campuses this fall, superseding the shantytowns? Demonstrations outside the Chinese embassy? Consider especially the case of the mainline Protestant churches. For decades, they gave special missionary attention to China. Though the ties have long since been cut, they are a historical fact. Will pulpits be as critical of the oppressors of the students, who are dead, as of the oppressors of Nelson Mandela, who is not?

Mr. Deng Knows His Orwell

Still musty from an attic trunk,
The Mao jacket's back,
While, benefiting from the trend,
Camps, recently so slack,
Are echoing to marching feet
As, on the evening news,
The anchormen remain discreet
About discordant views.

W. H. VON DREELE

Playing the German Card

WRAPPED IN PLATITUDES about the rights of individuals as the "central element" of politics and the "right of peoples to self-determination"—principles still comprehensively denied by Gorbachev's USSR—the Soviet-German Joint Declaration, signed at the

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Fiscal Legerdemain

THE OFFICIAL national debt—debt sold by the Treasury to finance the deficit—now exceeds $2 trillion, nearly triple what it was in 1980. This figure does not include the more than $1 trillion of federal obligations kept off the official ledger, specifically, the debt of government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs) and guaranteed federal loans:

FEDERAL DEBT OBLIGATIONS

($ Billions)

	Treasury Debt	GSE Debt	Guaranteed Federal Loans	Total
1980	709.3	126.1	298.5	1133.9
1985	1509.9	351.6	410.4	2271.9
1988	2050.2	663.2	550.0	3263.4
Average Annual Percentage Increase				
1980-85	16.3	22.8	6.6	14.9
1985-88	10.7	23.6	10.3	12.8

The success of Gramm-Rudman in throttling the growth of Treasury debt since 1985 has, at the same time, spurred the use of federal loan guarantees, which do not result in budget outlays unless they go into default, and in GSEs, which are off budget and therefore immune from that law's limits.

Technically, GSEs are private corporations chartered by the U.S. Government to perform certain "public" functions, which originally meant providing credit to certain sectors of the economy. There were legitimate economic reasons for the early GSEs: the Farm Credit System helped redress the imbalances between the supply and demand for farm credit caused by restrictions on interstate banking. Fannie Mae did the same for mortgage lending. The traditional GSE is profitable and doesn't cost the taxpayer a dime.

Not so the new ones. Instead of helping private-sector businesses and individuals, their sole mission has been to channel public funds to failed government agencies or other GSEs, circumventing Gramm-Rudman. The S&L bailout, for example, will be transacted via a GSE created specifically for that purpose. The Resolution Financing Corporation (Refcorp) will be authorized to raise $50 billion by means of thirty-year bonds, none of which, if the Bush Administration gets its way, will be recorded in the budget although taxpayers will pay interest amounting to about $5 billion per year, or $150 billion over the life of the bonds.

The sleight of hand does not end here, for Refcorp will be obliged to turn over the bond proceeds to the government, where they will be logged in as an "offsetting receipt," a type of revenue that has the effect of reducing budget outlays. Ergo, the 1990 budget can show spending on deposit insurance as *declining* by $14 billion from the current year.

If accounting principles were the only issue, these shenanigans would be of little interest. After all, a dollar spent off budget does not hurt us any more than one spent on budget. But by going off budget the government puts itself in the position of having to pay interest rates at least 75 basis points higher than it would on straight Treasury debt, increasing the cost to taxpayers anywhere from $2 billion to $8 billion over the life of the bonds. In addition, the phony deficit reduction gives the Administration leeway to propose new spending initiatives without offsetting spending cuts in the 1990 budget. —ED RUBENSTEIN

outset of Gorbachev's campaign swing through West Germany, envisions a dramatic expansion of economic ties between the two countries. The Bonn government will actually guarantee German investments in the Soviet Union—thereby transferring the risks of doing business there from private firms and banks to taxpayers. No matter how unprofitable, how ill-advised, how inimical to Western interests it might be for the West to bail out the Soviet-bloc economies, the German taxpayer will make it risk-free to German entrepreneurs.

It would be naïve to believe that these arrangements—and the subsidized advantage they will afford German capitalists vis-à-vis their counterparts from other Western nations—will not produce intense pressure for similar credit and investment guarantees from Rome, London, Tokyo, and even Washington. The cumulative effect will be a massive infusion of capital, high technology, and managerial knowhow into Soviet hands, despite the devastating consequences such transfers will have for Western security. In short, when it comes to Gorbachev's notions of a "common European home," Bonn is prepared to hold the mortgage, make the down-payment, and finance the construction at below-market rates.

The German policy entails a significant leap of

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"Then I asked myself: What would Mao have done?"

faith, given the fact that the Soviet Union's military power and the priority of access it enjoys to resources and imported technology belie the Soviets' undertaking in the Joint Declaration that "war is no longer a tool of politics." It is the more ironic coming at the very moment when China is so palpably demonstrating the absurdity of Genscherism's central premise, namely that economic and financial relations will, of necessity, transform totalitarian Communist regimes and should be embarked upon without waiting for fundamental political reform. We must be mindful of this, as the infatuation with Gorbachev enables him to play a dangerous "German card" aimed at encouraging inattention to Western defense requirements and undermining present arrangements for controlling strategic trade and credits to the Soviet bloc.

The Students Continue to Learn

THE CHINESE STUDENTS have certainly learned the reality of unleashed power. They have been shot, ground under tank treads, beaten to death, rounded up with their hands tied behind their backs. They have been led by the People's Liberation Army down the Avenue of Heavenly Peace. The government is attempting a massive coverup, lying brazenly in the teeth of hours of TV coverage and thousands of FAX machines.

The demonstrations were noble theater, but, unfortunately, only theater. Down the road, the demonstrators—or their children, or grandchildren—may win; but in the short term, they lost. They forgot first principles; they paid too much attention to Gandhi and to our own mythical 1960s—the myth being the power of "demonstrations," of "street theater." George Orwell long ago pointed out that Gandhian non-violence depends upon the acquiescence of the physically superior adversary. The Chinese students' adversary, with one foot in his political grave, did not acquiesce. The students should have paid more attention to military and political history.

The great commanders have always understood that there is a key to every strategic situation. The key might be a Cemetery Ridge, a ford over a river, the Japanese dependence upon imported petroleum, the tactical isolation of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Lincoln's third-rate generals, infatuated with Napoleon, thought that the Confederacy could be defeated through a frontal assault upon Richmond—neglecting the salient fact that they could not defeat the Army of Northern Virginia. Grant understood that the Confederacy could be smashed by going around that army, won the war at Vicksburg, and seized Atlanta.

The current Chinese government is such a rotten barrel that one more kick might have demolished it. But the students did not have that kick on their agenda. A great maxim of Machiavelli: Never do an opponent a "small injury."

If the students had paid attention to military history, they would have understood the desperate, last-card nature of Comrade Deng's tanks. On a city street, a tank can be incinerated by a bottle of gasoline thrown from a third-story window. In that situation, tanks have to move single file; thus, if you burn the lead tank, the rest of the column would be in confusion, reversing, chugging, stalling. The tank crews would come out like ants from an ant-hill, whereupon they could be shot from behind doors and windows. Under such circumstances, how long would the morale of the bullying 27th Army have held up? Not long.

To be sure, Deng Xiaoping would then have called for an infantry attack upon the population. When Owen Glendower told Hotspur that he could call spirits from the vasty deep, Hotspur replied that Glendower could call, but would they come? If Deng's

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infantry had come, they would have faced a difficult military proposition—if, to be sure, the students had had the proper measures in place. Fighting block by block, floor by floor, room by room is a great military equalizer. A soldier armed with an AK-47 can be shot in the back by a rifle dating from the Boxer Rebellion.

The Chinese students had a weak regime tottering. The army itself was divided in its counsels. To revert to Shakespeare, Hamlet says that "readiness is all." The students were not ready.

According to the Roman historian Livy, when the ancient fathers of Rome dug to emplace the foundations of the Capitol, they unearthed a bleeding head. This legend means that all political power ultimately rests upon force. The Chinese students have now learned this lesson.

Falwell's Farewell

WHEN Jerry Falwell announced the disbanding of Moral Majority—in Las Vegas, of all places—he said that "our mission is accomplished." At first sight, that's hard to believe.

The moral landscape of America doesn't look much better than it did when Moral Majority was founded in 1979. Pornography is still endemic; homosexuality continues to gain legitimacy, as does illegitimacy itself; prime-time TV keeps getting raunchier—in fact, the best index of how bad things are is that we hardly notice them getting worse. The only bridle on the sexual revolution now is the occasional medical report on the spread of AIDS, hepatitis, syphilis, or chlamydia.

Falwell contends that Moral Majority helped get Ronald Reagan elected President. It did that, and it also helped shift the balance of the Supreme Court, which may soon overturn *Roe* v. *Wade*. It helped energize the Religious Right, giving millions of previously passive Americans who were disturbed by the nation's growing libertinism (underwritten by the Federal Government) the sense that they could make a difference. Which they have done.

Moral Majority was a cry from the heartland, and the politicians heard it. Even liberal Democrats pay lip service to "family values" now, and advocates of abortion have come to acknowledge that a human fetus is something more than a blob of worthless cells. Republicans have adopted some Moral Majority positions as planks in their own platform.

But it's one thing to force a change in the tone of politics, another to change the actual life of the country. The latter mission is far from accomplished. Moral Majority never got far beyond a wish list, never developed an effective strategy of reform to counter the efforts of the practiced operators who were working for the opposite causes. The same might be said of conservatives in general, who continue to be longer on principles than on political savvy. Only time will tell whether Moral Majority is a spent force, or whether the energies it generated have moved to other channels.

I. F. Stone, RIP

SOCRATES: I don't believe I know you.

STONE: That's strange—my last book was about you.

SOCRATES: You wrote *that* book? You certainly did not understand the basis of my argument with Athens, which had to do with a mystical experience I had of the transcendent during the Peloponnesian War.

STONE: But I was an iconoclast like you. An investigative reporter. You can read all about it in the obituaries. I was a maverick, a pioneer, a defender of the weak, a non-conformist.

SOCRATES: You were a conformist, a lockstep leftist. Your "weak" did not include the Poles of 1945, whom you called fascists. Your "weak" were always the official victims as defined by the Left. You were for Castro, Hanoi, the Sandinistas—and Stalin. All too predictably, in your last phase you embraced the Palestinian cause. You call this independent thinking? Worse still, you weren't much of a writer.

STONE: Give me a break.

SOCRATES: Get the hell out of Hades.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I'm worried about my mother.

Three years ago, I gave her a gift subscription to NATIONAL REVIEW. Now, she's speaking in tongues. Specifically, Latin tongues. I'm afraid *NR*'s Latinists are getting to her.

For example, she recently spoke these words of wisdom to me: "*Populus iamdudum defutatus est.*" She said this means: "The people have been getting screwed long enough." Assuming the political (rather than the biological) connotations of this, I couldn't agree more. But is it proper for such a dignified lady, the former Pickle Queen of Wiggins, Mississippi, to be speaking like a commoner?

I feel honored to have inhabited the same century as two of history's grandest ladies: Clare Boothe Luce and Alice Roosevelt Longworth. One of them (I can't remember which) once proclaimed: "I'm in the springtime of my senility." Could this be happening to my mother?

Don C. Lynch
Baton Rouge, La.

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Dear Mr. Lynch: We earnestly hope not. She sounds bright and full of verve at this end. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I believe it was while I was in Nam about twenty years ago that you ran a news item about a race riot in Chicago. The riot supposedly started when a black patron of a liquor store objected because the white dog on the Black & White Scotch label was bigger than the black dog.

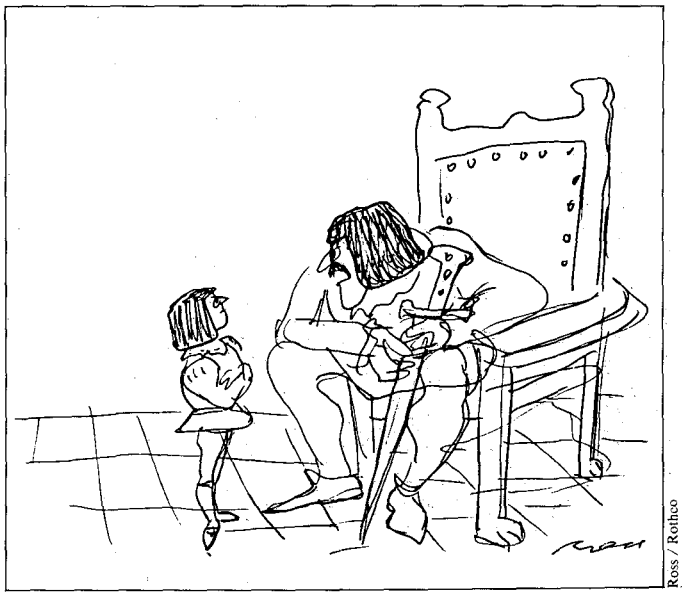
I have used that story on liberals ever since. Although the story clearly makes them nervous, the liberals always claimed it could never have happened that way.

Till now. The following letter actually really and truly ran in the *Record*, *Pravda*'s voice in Bergen County, New Jersey:

> Editor, the *Record*:
>
> I'd like to call your attention to the subliminally sexist message of one of our most common roadside signs: the "school-crossing" sign that appears in almost every neighborhood in the country. This sign features a picture of two children, a boy and a girl, crossing the street together. The boy is much taller than the girl, portraying the part of the older brother, while the girl's role is that of the dependent younger sister. The boy seems to have his hand gripping the little girl's elbow, as if he were guiding her. All these details suggest that the boy is dominant, and that the girl is weaker. I suggest that half of our school-crossing signs be changed to show a taller girl and a smaller boy. A small change like this could give American children a much better sense of the full range of possible relationships between males and females.
>
> Sarah McGarth

I was sorely tempted to suggest that new signs make up for years of oppression by showing the taller girl kicking the crap out of the smaller boy. However, that would probably bring on a *Record* editorial about the dialectic of the class struggle. I can only stand just so much hilarity.

Cordially,
William D. Watkins
River Edge, N.J.



"Why don't you want to go to war to preserve feudalism?"

Dear Mr. Watkins: You are right to despair, unless you remember that to do so is a mortal sin. It is perhaps a relief that Big Brother now becomes Big Sister. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

What should we do about the gerrymander ["Beware the Gerrymander, My Son," April 7]? I suggest that we weight the votes of members of the House of Representatives according to the percentage of votes received by each. Thus Marilyn Lloyd (D.) of Chattanooga would get 0.55 of a vote (her Republican opponent in the last election got 45 per cent of the votes)—and similarly for everyone else in the House The counting of votes would thus look like 0.55 + 0.63 + 0.98 instead of 1 + 1 + 1, but the computers that make gerrymandering easy should be able to handle this.

This reform would give every popular vote, including votes cast for losing candidates, an impact. It would reduce the effect of gerrymandering; if Republicans get 47 per cent of the popular votes (in all elections, however—not just contested ones) then they would get 47 per cent of the voting power in the House even if 65 per cent of House members remained Democrats. It would encourage the parties to contest every district in every election. Yet it would not threaten incumbents as redistricting would. Its enactment might require a constitutional amendment (or, God forbid, a court order) but I opine that an Act of Congress would suffice.

Yours,
Andrew Lohr
Lookout Mountain, Ga.

Dear Mr. Lohr: Constitutional improvisations aren't our favorite game, but what you say makes its own sense. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Nietzsche said: "What does not kill me makes me stronger." Was he right?

Had he ever seen a pickup truck?

Sincerely,
Robert Faltin
Edmonton, Alberta

Dear Mr. Faltin: a) No, Nietzsche (1844–1900) hadn't ever seen a pickup truck; and b) No, he wasn't right (TB doesn't always kill, but it leaves you weaker); and c) What do you think we poor people at *NR* are, *Information Please*? Cordially, —WFB

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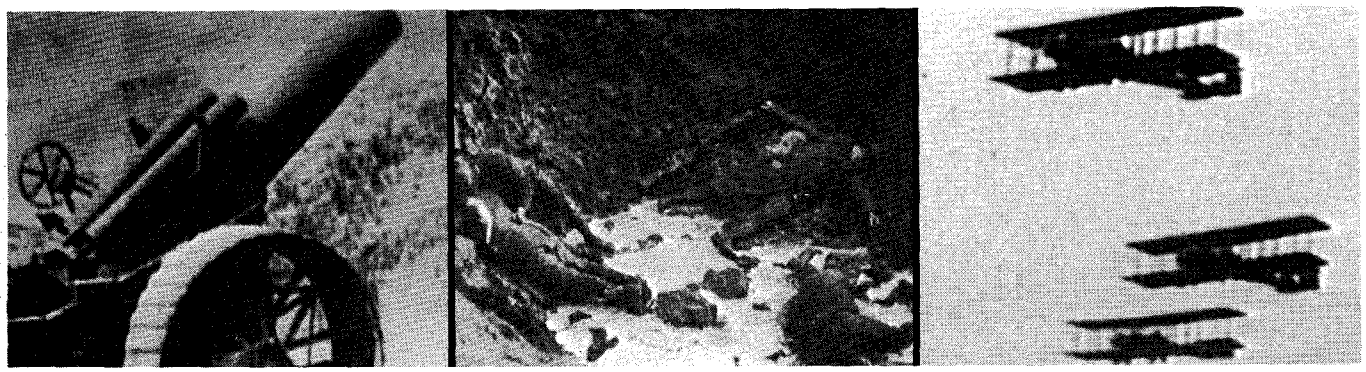

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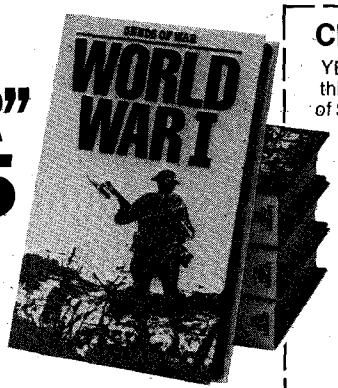

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ON THE SCENE

NEW KENNEDY, OLD SOLUTIONS

SUSAN T. MANDEL

LATE ONE Thursday evening, as the House rushed to push through its savings-and-loan bailout bill, the American people got a good taste of how legislators can sneak in their own proposals with almost no attention. For tacked on to the S&L bill was an amendment that would change the way bank loans are made by emphasizing racial and other non-economic criteria. These and similar amendments are likely to be dropped in the final compromise bill, but they are also being considered separately and are likely to pass in some form eventually. As if the nation did not already have enough problems in its lending industry, Congress seems determined to give it some more.

Congress first started scrambling on the discrimination-in-lending issue after the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* carried a Pulitzer Prize-winning series on it. To be sure, minority applicants are less likely to qualify for home loans, because they are less likely to have the requisite income. But the housing activists are arguing that this result means the financial community is guilty of racial discrimination. The lending institutions thus find themselves on the defensive, ready to make concessions to avoid continued accusations from Congress and the press.

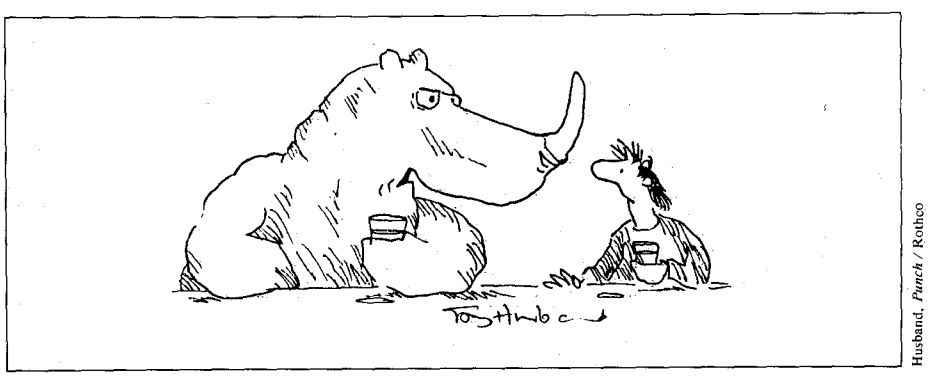
The attention all this has received puts the spotlight on Representative Joseph P. Kennedy II, the two-term congressman from Boston who authored the proposals. Sniffing out "discriminatory lending practices" has been one of Kennedy's top legislative priorities since he first came to Congress in 1987. According to Representative Steve Bartlett (R., Tex.), Representative Kennedy "has adopted in total—and in essence makes his legislative life pushing—the much more . . . left-wing consumer groups' agenda." His devotion to their causes has made Mr. Kennedy's voting record one of the most liberal in the House.

One such proposal would require lenders to break down their mortgage applications and rejections according to the race, gender, and income level of the applicants and to make the information publicly available. Another would make public the confidential ratings bank regulators give financial institutions on how well they are meeting the credit needs of their communities. Even forgetting for a moment that the original goal of the civil-rights movement was precisely to eliminate such criteria from decisions, the Kennedy bids obviously have another, more political use. As Representative Stephen L. Neal (D., N.C.) puts it, activists use such laws "to blackmail banks into doing things that simply do not make good business sense."

On a recent appearance on the *Phil Donahue Show*, Representative Kennedy gave a glimpse of how the figures can be used. "If you're white in America," he said, "you're three times as likely to be able to get a loan than [*sic*] if you're black." Of course he didn't feel it necessary to note that if you're white you're three times *less* likely to get a home-*improvement* loan than if you're black. Of course not—because that would confirm bankers' arguments that the outcome is owing to economics rather than prejudice.

"Folks," Mr. Kennedy confided in the *Donahue* audience, "the way it works in Washington is that you're left in the dark," a practice the congressman was himself engaging in at the moment. For when the same issue came up before the House Banking Committee, he conceded that the seeming appearance of racial discrimination in the making of mortgage loans could be due to the underwriting standards that the quasi-governmental secondary-market agencies, the Federal National Mortgage Association and the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac), have set for lenders. But this was a point the congressman failed to add to his inflammatory remarks on TV.

As with most such legislation the point here is simply to force the private sector to pay for failed liberal programs. In this case the likely outcome would be to intimidate lenders into practicing reverse discrimination



Husband, *Punch* / Rothco

"Yeah, I'm a rhinoceros—so what? Jesus! Why do people always have to categorize each other?"

Miss Mandel is the new congressional reporter in NR*'s Washington bureau.*

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when making loans. For example, legislative director Donald R. Carlson says the goal is to get lenders to subsidize down-payments and mortgage-interest payments for minorities.

Indeed, if his other priorities are any indication, young Joe Kennedy is still stuck on the old solutions: obtaining federal matching grants for non-profit organizations to create low-income housing, directing the Environmental Protection Agency to develop technology to improve indoor air quality, expanding veterans' health benefits. The new proposals to emphasize racial and other criteria in mortgage lending are considered to be his most significant to date.

However, his fellow House Democrats may have a better reading on Representative Kennedy than the rest of us. As with Uncle Ted, young Joe Kennedy hasn't been given any real position of leadership by his own party. It has twice denied him membership on important committees that would have allowed him to be more of a player in Congress—first on the Appropriations Committee; then on Energy and Commerce. In last year's vice-presidential debate, Lloyd Bentsen demolished Dan Quayle with the biting remark: "You're no Jack Kennedy." Today the Democrats seem to be saying much the same thing to young Joe. □

SOMETHING HAPPENED

CONRAD KIECHEL

KRAKOW—On May 3, Aleksandra Zieleniewska was busy telling Poles how to vote. That may sound positively undemocratic. It isn't. Miss Zieleniewska, who organized Solidarity's radio campaign in the Krakow area for the June 4 election, explained that one of the opposition's main tasks was to instruct voters, faced with the novel experience of actual electoral choice, on how to mark their ballots for the candidates they supported. Another task, Miss Zieleniewska admitted, was to convince a fearful and footsore electorate that they should vote at all. Hers was the voice of hope.

Later on the same day, a crowd of several thousand people began a march from Krakow's Wawel Hill—ancient seat of Polish kings and, more recently, of the first Polish-born Pope. It ended, later that evening, in front of the Soviet consulate, with the demonstrators chanting, "Ivan Go Home!" Along the way, a young marcher with little English stammered out confused translations of the demonstrators' slogans. Finally, frustrated, he said, "We say: F--- Communism!" His was the voice of experience.

Mr. Kiechel is an editorial writer at the Voice of America. The views expressed in this article do not necessarily reflect those of VOA.

The election itself marked a partial triumph of hope over experience, with Poles uncertain if voting in a less-than-totally-free election would endorse a detested government, or hasten its demise. In the end, Solidarity's candidates won by an overwhelming margin. But only some 62 per cent of those eligible voted. Millions of Poles registered their fundamental opposition to Communist rule by simply not voting in the Soviet bloc's freest election in forty years. And a majority of the Poles who did vote registered their opposition in a different way: by crossing out the names of the supposedly safe "national list," denying many leaders of the regime's reform faction a seat in the parliament. A year ago, the Warsaw government was rejecting Solidarity's calls for its re-legalization. Today, it is Solidarity that's doing the rejecting: after its electoral sweep, the opposition rebuffed the regime's feelers about forming a coalition government. Clearly, something has happened. But what?

More than seven years ago, after the brief, heady period of Solidarity's legal existence, martial law was proclaimed. But Solidarity endured, going underground and into the churches. Even as the Polish government declared Solidarity's resurrection impossible, it discovered that its own economic reforms were unworkable without the participation of Polish workers. When a wave of strikes broke out last year, the strikers' chief demand was not fatter pay packets but Solidarity's reinstatement. Nobel laureate and electrician emeritus Lech Walesa convinced the strikers to return to work only when the regime promised roundtable discussions between government and opposition. The chief results of the talks, held earlier this year, were the legalization of Solidarity and the agreement to hold limited democratic elections.

For these elections, the Polish Senate was restored and all one hundred senators freely chosen. In the elections to the main law-making body, the Sejm, opposition forces were permitted a maximum of 35 per cent of the seats. During the campaign, the opposition candidates' main message was that Poles should vote "*Solidarnosc tylko*"—Solidarity only—to ensure a unified parliamentary opposition that could try to force real reforms. No Pole I spoke with is confident that this will happen. But the Walesa-led opposition took the "constructivist" approach, hoping to use this far-from-democratic opening as a wedge into the decomposing Communist system. "In casting our votes," Solidarity's election platform stated, "we do not close our eyes to the still undemocratic nature of the system by which our country is governed . . . We want to change this system through evolutionary methods." Even supporters of non-evolutionary change, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, whose platform expresses the wish of most Poles—to kick the Soviets out of Poland and the Communists out of Warsaw—fielded candidates in the election.

Poles aren't naïve. Many believe that the regime hopes to hold onto its power through minimal concessions, while bringing the opposition into the governing structure just enough to let it share the blame for the economic austerity measures that are certain to be necessary. For its part, the opposition hopes that, with 35 per cent of the Sejm, it can work to capture a parliamentary majority in the next election, scheduled for 1993. The opposition forces are willing to grit their teeth and accept a President Jaruzelski—so that one day there might be a President Walesa. For a nation whose history is tragically littered with an attachment to the politically impracti-

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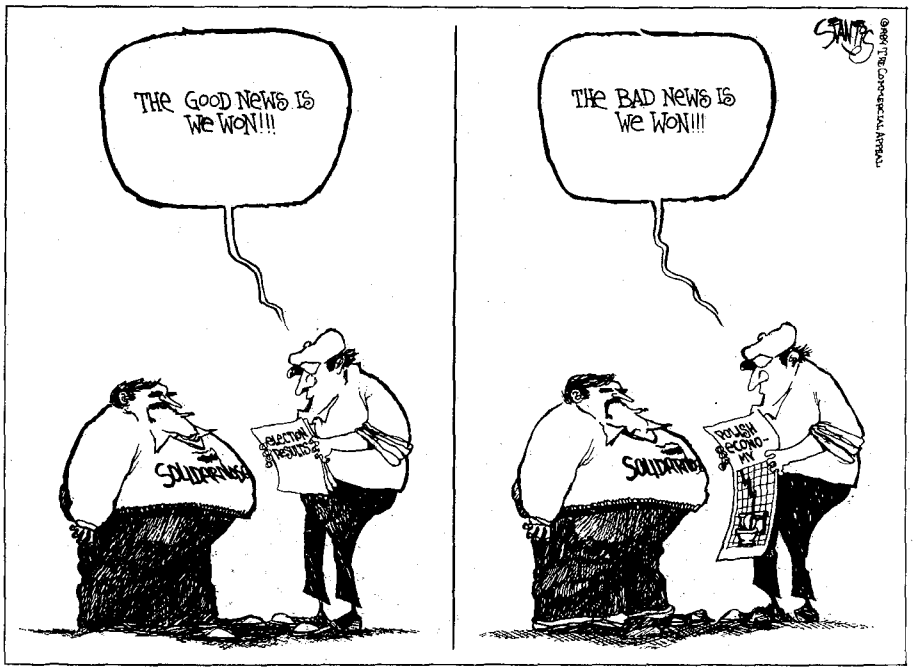

cal, it is perhaps significant that Poles are seeing the politics of subverting Communism as the art of the possible.

Now, with the elections over, Poland must confront what seems a truly impossible task: bridging the economic abyss that threatens to swallow up its democratic hopes. For several years the Polish comrades have been leading a slow retreat from central planning: selling off state enterprises, shutting inefficient ones, trying to phase out the massive subsidies that pervade and distort the Polish economy. It is a considerable irony that the most outspoken champions of capitalism in Poland today are yesterday's Communists, while the democratic opposition, founded as a labor union, speaks of exchanging the Soviet for the Swedish model of socialism.

As for the workers themselves, the single most unfortunate legacy of forty-plus years of central planning is psychological. Decades of income unrelated to effort has left its mark: millions of wage-earners unprepared for the real work required in a market economy. It was the prospect of massive popular discontent caused by the decentralization that forced the Polish government to make the limited political concessions it has made. But political concessions alone won't do it: hard work and sacrifice will also be needed.

Piotr Aleksandrowiec, founder and editor of *Gazeta Bankova*, points out that Poland has set itself a huge task: to implement political and economic reform simultaneously. He is not optimistic about Poland's performing this feat. But at least Poland has some advantages its big brother to the East doesn't share. First: Poles themselves. Poles, typically individualistic, are closet capitalists; well-educated Poles could be modern ones. And the Polish economy possesses a huge class of existing capitalists: the black marketeers who sell, for Deutsche marks and dollars, the goods Poles want. Poland's second great advantage is agriculture. Polish land was never collectivized, and today more than 75 per cent of it is privately owned. The vast majority of private farmers are peasants, not agricultural shift workers like those who toil on Russia's collectivized farms. As China showed, peasants in Communist societies are capitalists waiting to be liberated. Poland's third great economic advantage is the Catholic Church. That fact is little appreciated. But if and when Poland implements real free-market policies, there will be a necessary stage of primitive capitalism, with growing disparities in income and wealth. The Catholic Church provides a community, a safety valve that can help diffuse the social tensions that may arise.

Yesterday's political pilgrims journeyed to the Soviet Union to see a future that worked; today's can go to Poland to see a nation rapidly discarding a past that didn't. No society has ever replaced totalitarian Communism with democratic capitalism; no one can say it is possible. Poles try to find historic parallels to guide them in the task they have begun: Spain after Franco? Chile after Pinochet? In fact, there are none; as Janusz Beksiak says, "Ours is a journey without maps." But though the route may be unknown, the destination is not. □

IN THE SHADOWS

ANTHONY DANIELS

TIRANA—In 1982, Albania's Party of Labor suffered a serious electoral reverse. According to the Directory of Statistics of the State Planning Commission, its share of the vote plummeted from 100 per cent in the elections of 1979 to a mere 99.9 per cent in 1982.

Needless to say, it is not easy to gauge the precise state of public opinion in a country where a vote of 99.9 per cent represents a decline. Aside from language difficulties (Albanian is the unique descendant of the ancient Illyrian language), the authorities do not exactly encourage spontaneous conversations with foreigners. To speak of political matters in any but the officially sanctioned way, one must meet at night, in the dark shadows of ill-lit streets. If anyone approaches, you change the subject to something innocuous like soccer and move on (to another shadow). The few passing cars are viewed with suspicion, for there are less than a thousand cars in Albania, and the use of one signifies membership in the political elite.

Is Albania as peaceful as it seems? Every evening when the weather permits, people pour out of their apartment blocks and stroll in true Medi-

Mr. Daniels is a freelance writer whose books include Zanzibar to Timbuktu *and* Coups and Cocaine.

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terranean fashion down the main streets. They go arm in arm, chatting and preening as they pass the statues of Stalin and Enver Hoxha. Army officers, dressed in olive-drab uniforms without insignia that look like costumes for a Hollywood totalitarian nightmare, mingle amicably among the crowds, nodding to friends and acquaintances. "Albania," reiterate the official guides proudly, "is a country without crime." "We are already dead," say the men in dark shadows.

Albania is the only country in the world where religion has been completely outlawed. The mosques and churches were closed in 1967 ("by the decision of Albanian youth," according to the official explanation). The mosques have been turned into shops or warehouses, most of the churches demolished. The crosses have been removed from the cemeteries, and an atheistic equality now pursues people to the grave: there are only standardized headstones, giving name and dates of birth and death, as though the Grim Reaper had signed the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war. In the town of Elbasan a young man took me to see an Orthodox church, permitted to stand because of its age and architectural importance. His manner was that of a salesman of dirty pictures in the days before pornography was respectable. We picked our way through the rubble (the church was under restoration, and I suspected it always would be) to the iconostasis. Behind it was a cupboard and a chest. When we opened the cupboard, ancient volumes in Greek tumbled out, their covers torn, exuding the smell of must. The fading gold- and silver-braid copes of Orthodox priests had been stuffed into the chest as if at a theatrical costumer's gone out of business.

But if religion has been killed, the impulse behind it has been carefully nurtured and transferred to other objects. Chief among these is Enver Hoxha, founder of the state and therefore an authority on virtually everything. It is difficult to convey the extent of this secular worship. The year of Hoxha's birth, 1908, is inscribed in white stones on hundreds of hills throughout Albania. Every factory, every institution, has what amounts to a shrine to him. Even the hotels that cater to foreigners have a Hoxha corner, with photographs of him in every phase of his life: his arrogant youth, his years as a leader of the partisans against the Nazis (from which he emerged surprisingly sleek and plump), his dotage. The cathedral of his cult is the gleaming white pyramid of the Enver Hoxha Museum in Tirana, in which there are glass reliquaries enclosing the Greatest Genius of Mankind's homburg, his pen, his light grey suit, and his shirts (with their capitalist labels torn out). One of his speeches is repeated without pause over a loudspeaker—an eternal fury of vehement self-righteousness—and there is a film of him approaching a bookcase for something good to read in a moment of relaxation. Ever the literary critic, he gives the problem a few moments of deep thought and then selects Volume VI of his own *Collected Works*.

Those who have doubts are bludgeoned into belief by statistics. In 1938, life expectancy in Albania was 38; now it is 72 (a lie, said a doctor in the shadows). The production of nickel has increased in the same period by 56,800 per cent, that of chromium by 28,200 per cent. Etc., etc.

OF COURSE, a vast increase in the output of non-ferrous metals is not quite the same thing as happiness. It is impossible to measure the level of discontent, but the regime takes no chances. Along the whole of the Adriatic coast of Albania, for example, I saw not a single small boat in which citizens might leave their paradise for the imperfections of Greece. Similarly, there were no boats on the lakes between Albania and Yugoslavia. A searchlight sweeps the coast of the channel between Corfu and Albania at its narrowest, and it is not searching for fugitive Greeks desperate to reach Albania. A man in the shadows told me that if anyone succeeds in escaping the country, his or her relatives are condemned to long internal exile in conditions that make eventual return problematical. Everyone stands hostage for somebody else.

In the circumstances, therefore, it is not surprising that the ubiquitous triumphalist slogans evoke apathy, cynicism, or rage. "Glory to the Party of Labor of Albania!" exclaim the slogans on the unutterably dreary and overcrowded apartment blocks in which most people now live, even in the countryside. Perhaps the most notable of the Party's achievements, although it remains unrecorded in the statistics, is its crushing of every aesthetic impulse among the people. Each apartment block has its little garden of rubble and mud, and every building remains eternally unfinished.

The isolation of Albania from the rest of the human race has been imposed in the name of ideological purity and—more importantly in the Balkans—national independence. For five hundred years the Turks dominated Albania. Soon after independence the Italians invaded, to be followed by the Nazis, who were pulling Mussolini's irons out of the fire. The cult of the anti-Nazi resistance is second only to the cult of Hoxha: and by a supreme irony, its iconography is profoundly Nazified. Square-jawed Albanian Motherhood everywhere holds a suckling babe to her granite breast with one muscular arm, while the other resolutely grips a rifle. Nowhere is there a suggestion that the Albanian resistance did not fight alone, that in fact its struggle was part of a rather wider conflict. To hear (as every guided tourist is taken to hear) an Albanian schoolgirl of 14 intone with flashing eyes and grimly determined expression a piece of patriotic, pro-partisan doggerel is a depressing experience: for how can a nation reflect seriously on its past if it is taught to think in slogans?

But the cult of the partisans serves a useful purpose. It is intended to convince Albanians that they are surrounded by enemies. Is meat rationed to a kilo per family per week (including a generous portion of bone and gristle)? It is the enemies who are responsible, by diverting our efforts away from the production of meat. Is there no privacy to make love in your cramped apartment? Once again, it is the enemies who are responsible. Every post supporting vines in Albania's vineyards has an iron spike pointing upward to deter enemy parachutists. Nearly every field has concrete gun emplacements with domes like small mosques. In one field, I counted 32 of them, as many as there were peasant women planting by hand.

Yet the world seeps into Albania. Near the Enver Hoxha University in Tirana, at the end of the Boulevard of the Martyrs, a student approached me. "Is it true," he asked confidentially, "that Michael Jackson has AIDS?" □

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GREENHOUSE EFFECT

As scientists try to measure trends of global warming,
the headlines scream, Don't just stand there, do something!
Unfortunately, doing the wrong thing can make the problem, if it is a problem, worse.
Herewith, a modest alternative.

GETTING WARMER?

JANE S. SHAW & RICHARD L. STROUP

BEGINNING LAST SUMMER, as a severe drought and record heat dried up fields and streams across the United States, a big story hit the headlines: the earth may be getting dangerously warmer. James E. Hansen, a scientist with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), told a congressional hearing that the evidence is "pretty strong" that the greenhouse effect had begun to operate.

"Seldom has there been such a strong consensus among scientists on a major environmental issue," intoned Richard A. Houghton and George M. Woodwell, scientists at the Woods Hole Research Center, in *Scientific American* this April. Stephen Schneider of the National Center for Atmospheric Research calculates that human-caused climate change will proceed ten to forty times as fast as any previous natural climate change.

Experts speculate on what the world might look like when the greenhouse effect takes hold. They predict rising sea-levels inundating wetlands, beaches, and coastal cities; forests shifting northward; new drought belts; worsening air pollution; and more catastrophes such as fires, insect plagues, and floods.

Self-appointed guardians of the environment are urging immediate steps to reduce emissions of "greenhouse gases" —especially CO_2, but also methane, nitrous oxides, and CFCs (chlorofluorocarbons), which are believed to trap heat radiating from the earth. They urge cutting back on fossil-fuel use by such measures as special taxes on carbon-dioxide emissions, increased funding for alternative energy sources, incentives for solar and nuclear power, an end to deforestation, and a doubling of the current fuel-efficiency standards.

CUTTING BACK significantly on the use of fossil fuels would require great sacrifices. Is global warming a sufficiently pressing issue to justify such steps?

The case for a greenhouse effect is based on the fact that the amount of CO_2 in the atmosphere is indeed increasing. Studying gas trapped in glacial ice, scientists estimate that in the 1850s, at the start of the industrial revolution, the atmosphere had less than 290 parts of CO_2 per million parts of air; that has risen to over 340 ppm, an increase of about 20 per cent over some 135 years.

There is also evidence that global temperatures have been going up during the past century. Hansen and his colleagues at NASA believe that the average global temperature has increased by between 0.5° and 0.7° C. since 1860. And the six warmest years globally during the past century appear to have been in the 1980s, with 1988 the warmest.

But whether there is a connection between the two factors is highly debatable. Scientists aren't even sure the warming has occurred. Andrew R. Solow, a statistician at Woods Hole, points out that measured global temperatures are "not really global at all." Monitoring stations tend to be located on land rather than on oceans, where trends may be quite different, and more are in the Northern Hemisphere than in the Southern Hemisphere. Furthermore, some regions, including the contiguous United States, have not shown any observable warming during the past century. The Northern Hemisphere actually experienced a cooling period between the 1940s and the 1970s, which led to predictions in the 1970s that we might be headed for a new Ice Age. Some scientists are convinced that the recent warm years can be explained by a periodic weather perturbation known as El Niño.

Assuming, however, that the global warming trend is real, could CO_2 be the cause? If so, says Solow, we should be seeing much warmer temperatures than we have seen so far. "For example, for the planet to warm by 2° C. in the next hundred years, the average rate of warming would have to be four times greater than that in the historic record." Greenhouse warming is expected to be greatest at high latitudes and more rapid in the north than in the south, but this pattern hasn't appeared either, he says.

Hugh W. Ellsaesser of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory questions the computer models that predict the greenhouse effect, because of "the gross differences I see between how the atmosphere works and how it is modeled to work." But if carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases

Miss Shaw and Mr. Stroup are senior associates of the Political Economy Research Center in Bozeman, Montana. *This article was prepared with the research assistance of Ayn Cabaniss. A more extensive discussion of the issue will appear in* Economics and the Environment: A Reconciliation, *edited by Walter Block, forthcoming from the Fraser Institute.*

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didn't cause the warming that has apparently occurred, what did? Solow and Ellsaesser both think it is natural and that it simply reflects the aftermath of a period of unusual cooling, the so-called "Little Ice Age" that ended during the nineteenth century.

But suppose that a correlation could be made between increased greenhouse gases and warming. Even that doesn't mean that the warming will simply continue. Much remains to be learned about the carbon cycle, the process by which carbon is taken up by plants and released into the atmosphere. Biological factors could enter in. For example, Trevor Platt of the Bedford Institute of Oceanography in Nova Scotia has been studying the role of phytoplankton, marine plants that consume enormous amounts of CO_2. He believes that the phytoplankton increase in number as atmospheric CO_2 builds up, creating a new "steady state" that will interfere with the greenhouse effect. Scientists also point to the importance of volcanic eruptions, which are largely unpredictable. Volcanic fallout tends to cool the earth because the particles help reflect sunlight back into space.

And Reid Bryson, director of the Institute of Environmental Studies at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, believes dust and smoke are the primary culprits in climate change, rather than carbon dioxide. He and a colleague, Gerald Dittberner, contend that atmospheric dust is responsible for about 90 per cent of the Northern Hemisphere's temperature variation in this century. Kenneth E. F. Watt, professor of environmental studies at the University of California at Davis, anticipates a long-term cooling. Increased carbon dioxide will heat tropical ocean surfaces, he explains, leading to additional evaporation and to denser clouds, which will decrease the penetration of sunlight. Watt suspects that the elevated level of the Great Salt Lake is a sign of cooling, not warming.

EVEN SO, most people probably believe the greenhouse effect has arrived. In January, the *New York Times* airily dismissed a recent report that there was no warming in the U.S. during the last century. Any sign of the trend would be "hard to spot," explained the *Times*, and the uncertainty should not stand in the way of immediate action. ("The Greenhouse Effect Is for Real," read the editorial's headline.) In the U.S. and other Western democracies, public perceptions are critical to political outcomes. These perceptions are strongly influenced by the media, and they frequently differ from those of experts. The process has been substantiated by Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter in a study published in *American Political Science Review*. They found that journalists are far more opposed to nuclear power than scientists who actually study nuclear issues, and that journalists more often quote the smaller group of scientists who are opposed to nuclear power. So, as *Science* editor Daniel Koshland put it, the government is "tilted to overreaction."

Thus the stage is set for very strong measures to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases. These measures would give governments greater power, would force people to make large sacrifices, and would probably limit innovation. Yet such measures will be introduced as moderate, even conservative, steps—in the words of the *New York Times*, as "cheap insurance against risks of such magnitude."

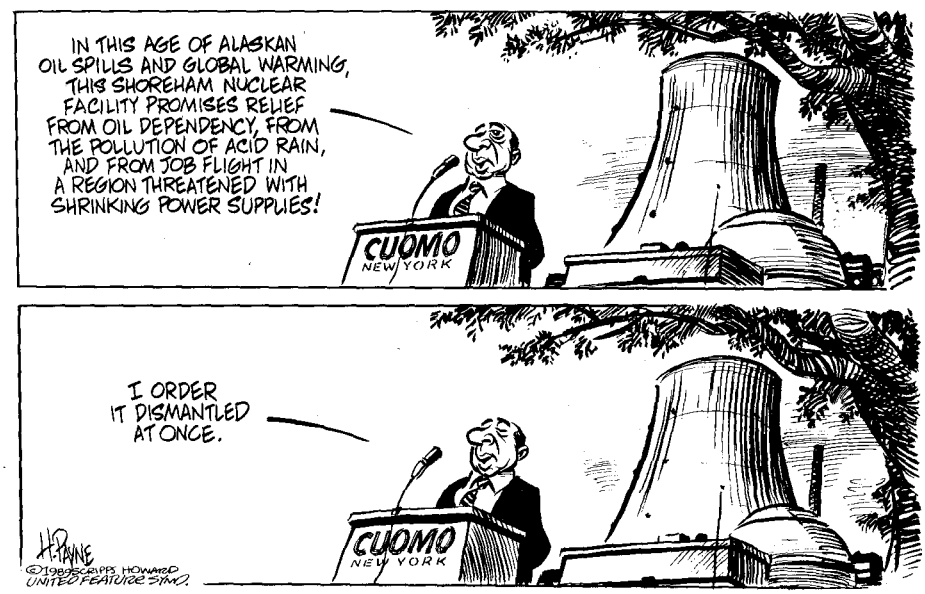
Yet any measures to remove CO_2 and other gases from the atmosphere will divert resources—land, labor, and capital—from other productive uses. The unintended consequences of mandatory action can be severe.

Take the *Times*'s recommendation to force Detroit to double the fuel efficiency of its cars. Such a requirement would result in many deaths. A study by Robert W. Crandall of the Brookings Institution and John D. Graham of the Harvard School of Public Health indicates that current fuel-efficiency standards are already causing deaths because automakers have had to lighten their cars, giving less protection in crashes. Crandall and Graham estimated that the congressionally established standards for 1989 models would have caused between 2,200 and 3,900 deaths. (The executive branch softened the standards a bit, so not quite that many people are dying.)

By the same token, some years ago the City of Los Angeles encouraged owners to tear down buildings that weren't earthquake-proof. The result, according to one study, was that 17,000 low-income people were deprived of housing, and replacement housing was not built. Even the best precautions typically have high costs.

Then there was the multi-billion-dollar Synthetic Fuels Corporation that the U.S. Government set up in response to the energy crisis of the late 1970s to spur production from new energy sources such as gasified coal. With no assistance from the Corporation, the oil shortage turned into a worldwide glut; the Synfuels effort was simply wasted.

In general, government policies in the environmental arena shift with the political winds and nurture special interests. For example, after World War II the Federal Government wished to encourage nuclear power; the Price-Anderson Act was passed, limiting owners' liability for nuclear accidents, which reduced the incentives for effective safety measures. Then, in the Sixties, anti-nuclear groups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What confidence can we have in the global-warming predictions when less than 15 years ago the idea that another Ice Age was pending was popular enough for a book, *The Cooling*, to be written and to receive respectful scientific comment?

became politically powerful. This led to extensive regulation of nuclear utilities; costs became prohibitive and safety regulations became so complex that some analysts contend that they actually reduce safety.

Environmental policy often becomes a political tool of regional interests. The 1977 amendments to the Clean Air Act required that all electric utilities use scrubbers to eliminate sulphur-dioxide emissions—even if they could reduce emissions more effectively by just using low-sulphur coal. As Bruce Ackerman and W. T. Hassler show in *Clean Coal, Dirty Air*, the scrubber requirement saved the Appalachian coal-mine owners and unions from serious competition from low-sulphur Western coal.

If things are this bad on a national scale, what can we expect on a global scale? Negotiations over the past decade to establish a Law of the Sea Treaty illustrate the problem. Nations couldn't agree on how to develop seabed minerals; Third World governments demanded that an international authority be formed to collect fees that would be distributed to Third World nations. The U.S. opposed this demand and refused to sign the treaty. Similar conflicts are emerging with the effort to control CFCs. China has indicated it plans to increase its use of CFCs ten-fold by the year 2000.

EVEN MODEST FAMILIARITY with history adds to one's skepticism about taking immediate and drastic action to combat global warming. Over the centuries, competent, highly respected people have predicted timber shortages, worldwide famines, permanent energy crises, and critical mineral depletion. None of these predictions has materialized.

In 1865, the noted British economist William Jevons argued that industrial growth could not be continued for long because the world was running out of coal. He concluded that it was "inevitable that our present happy progressive condition is a thing of limited duration."

At the turn of the century, President Teddy Roosevelt and his first chief of the Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot, thought the country was running out of timber. Indeed, a *New York Times* headline, "Hickory Disappearing, Supply of Wood Nears End—Much Wasted and There's No Substitute," was typical, as Sherry Olson relates in her book *The Depletion Myth*.

In 1968 Paul Ehrlich wrote: "In the 1970s the world will undergo famines—hundreds of millions of people are going to starve to death." Fortunately, this did not prove correct, and increasing privatization of agriculture in the Third World has significantly increased food production.

Finally, what confidence can we have in the global-warming predictions when we note that less than 15 years ago the idea that another Ice Age was pending was popular enough for a book, *The Cooling*, to be written and to receive respectful scientific comment?

NEVERTHELESS, the doomsayers could be right. The good news is that we probably have time to find out. Scientists are constantly accumulating information that brings them closer to understanding climatic sensitivity to greenhouse gases. As this knowledge emerges, a true consensus may develop that something should be done about the greenhouse effect.

But, since massive government solutions tend to be counterproductive, what should we do? As we learn more about the potential for global warming (or cooling), individuals will adapt their plans to defend their property, and to take advantage of the new conditions. If they are allowed to do this each in his own way, the results will be illuminating —whereas if individuals believe instead that the government will prevent the problem, then less will be tried and less will be learned. If the governments actually try and fail, then more serious dangers are likely.

The most effective thing that we can do to cope with global warming is to allow progress to continue. This is just the opposite of what Lester Brown, president of Worldwatch Institute, would like. He and two colleagues, Christopher Flavin and Sandra Postel, recently wrote that climate change "calls the whole notion of human progress into question" and urge that we take action "before it is too late." Yet Brown is flat wrong. Human progress is exactly what enabled people to cope with catastrophes in the past and it can continue to do so.

What countries can best handle the epidemic of AIDS? Clearly, countries that have sophisticated medicine, extensive hospital facilities, and a population in generally good health will cope better than countries lacking even basic sanitation for much of their population. Similarly, political scientist Aaron Wildavsky points out that an earthquake in California in 1971 caused 62 deaths. The next year a slightly less powerful earthquake in Nicaragua killed tens of thousands. Why the difference? The wealthier country had better-built houses, better transportation and communication, better health facilities. Shouldn't we encourage such progress, rather than stop it in its tracks?

In sum, mandatory steps to avert this potential disaster are the wrong way to go—especially in the near future, while scientific knowledge about global warming is seriously incomplete. As scientific understanding of the global atmosphere improves, our ability to make well-informed policy decisions should improve, too. Let's hope that those decisions take into account the resilience that comes from freedom and material progress. □

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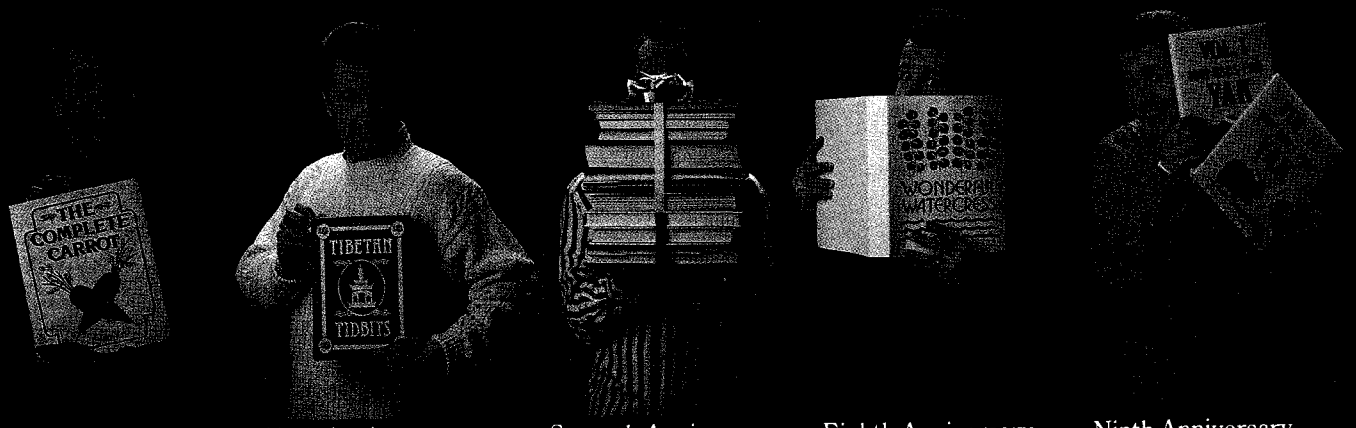

Fifth Anniversary. Sixth Anniversary. Seventh Anniversary. Eighth Anniversary. Ninth Anniversary.

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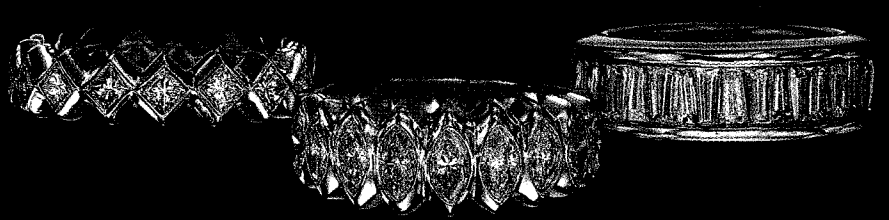

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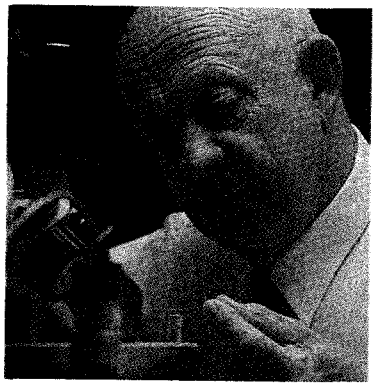

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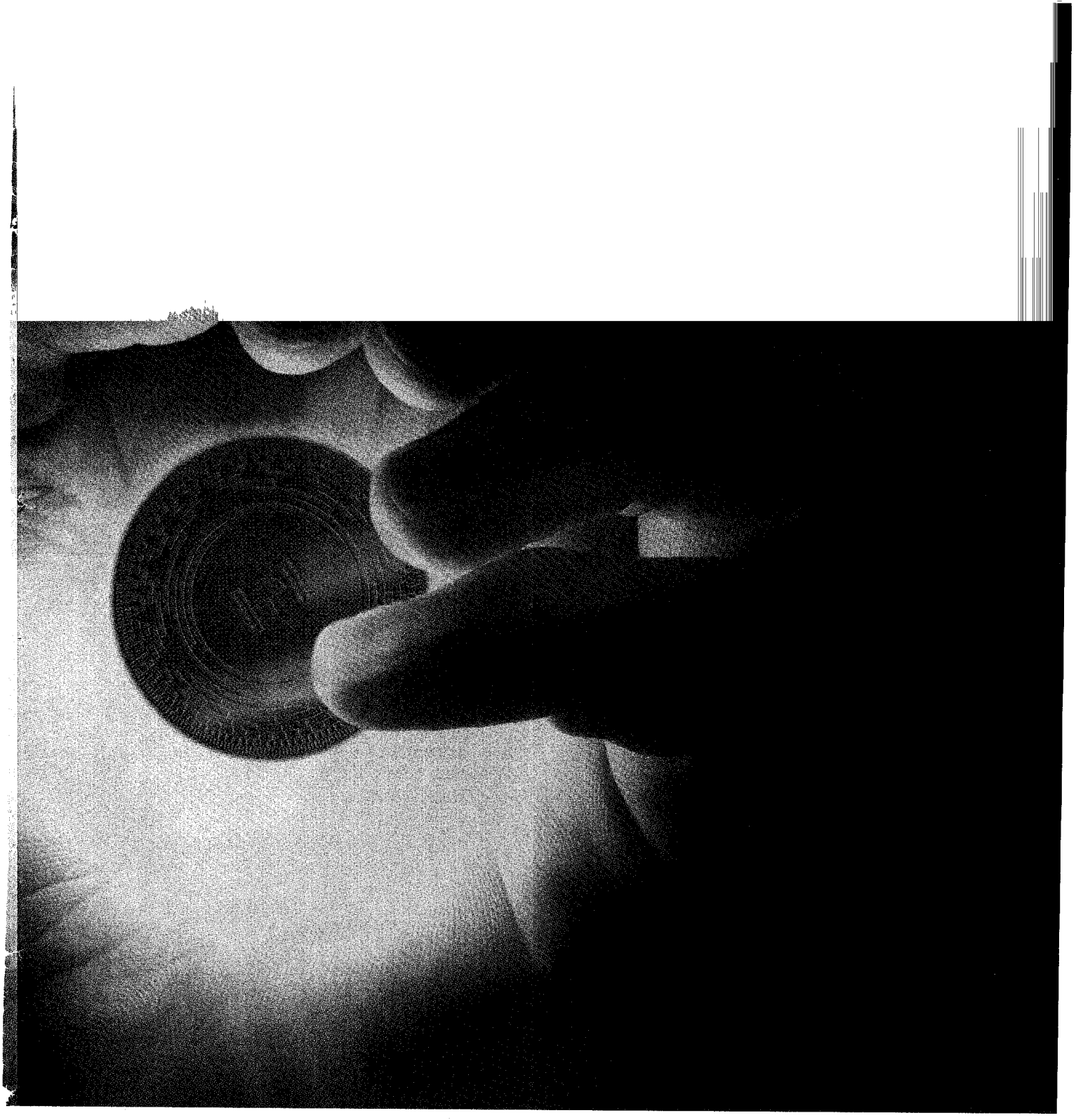

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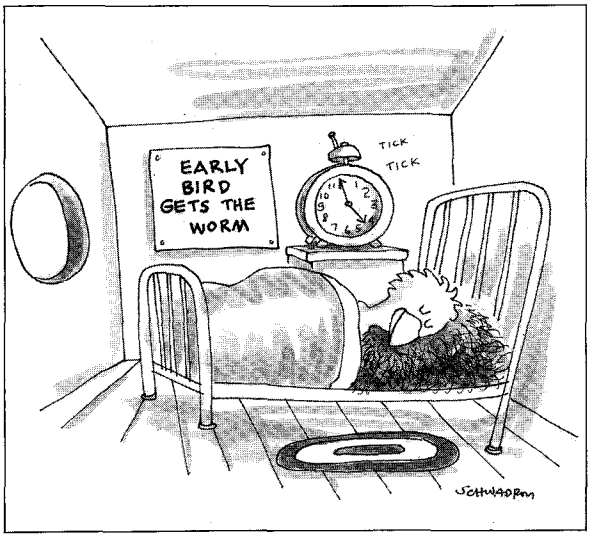
Cassandras will be left bereft
As business slows,
But I remember Coolidge, who
Withdrew before the derring-do
Destroyed repose.

W. H. von Dreele



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A New Breeze Blowing.

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NO, YOU CAN'T!
YES, I CAN!
NO, YOU CAN'T!
YES, I CAN!
NO, YOU CAN'T!
YES, I CAN...YES, I CAAAAN!

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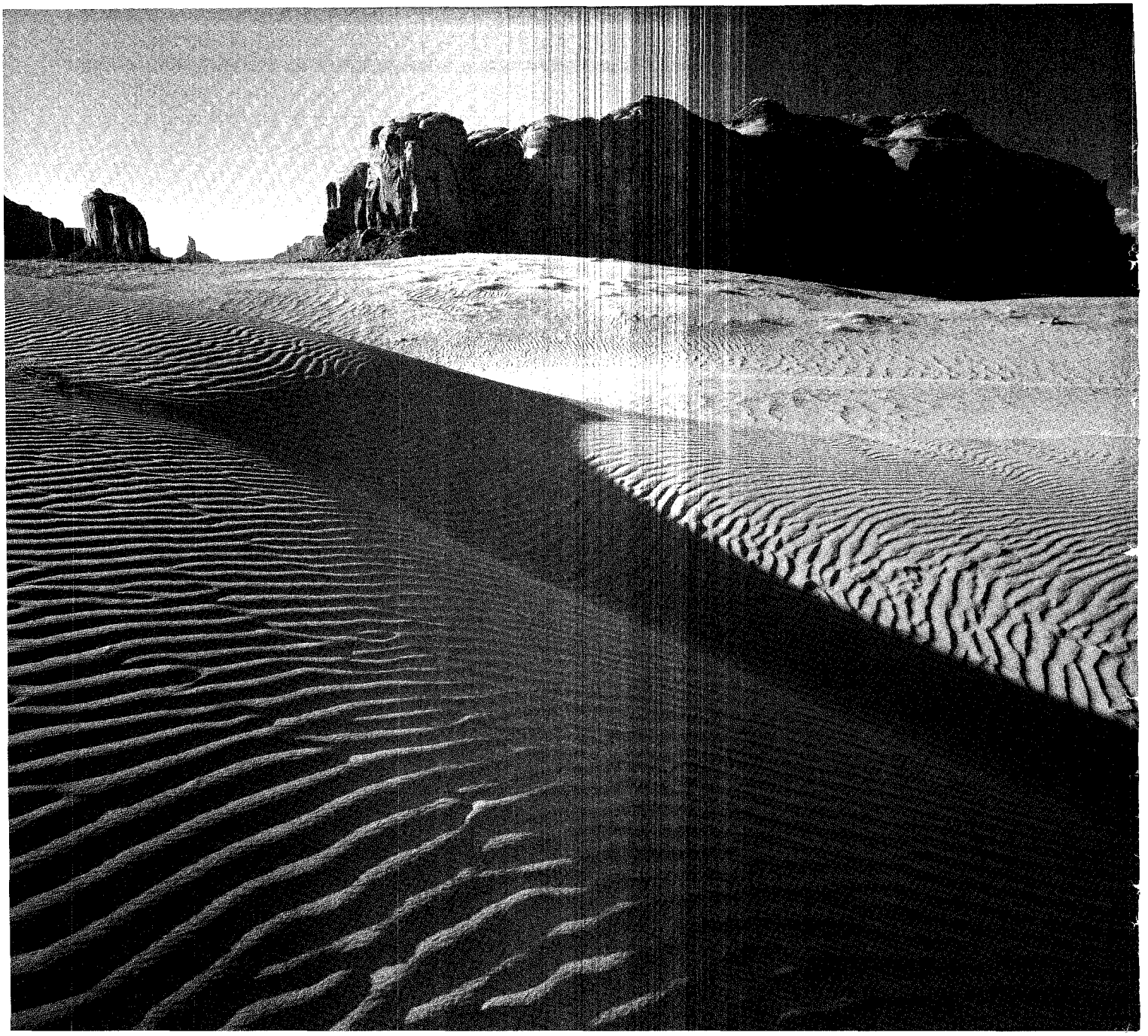

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GENERAL DYNAMICS

A Strong Company For A Strong Country

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How could a revolution whose catchwords were Reason and Nature take such a terrible course? Partly because not all that is reasonable and natural is just and good. The French Revolution was a summation of the previous century of political thought, and the precursor of the next two centuries of political turmoil.

REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION

NORMAN GASH

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, whose bicentennial is commemorated this year, was so comprehensive, concentrated, and brutal that it became a standard by which all later revolutions were judged. Yet in 1789 France was the largest, wealthiest, and most powerful state in Western Europe. Its writers dominated the European intellect; its bourgeoisie was strong and prosperous; its peasants owned two-fifths of the land and cultivated nearly all of it. What reason was there for revolution? One answer was supplied by Napoleon. Vanity, he said—liberty was only a pretext. One can see the argument. The aristocracy, only 2 per cent of the population, enjoyed a privileged position which their actual services to the state hardly seemed to justify. What the urban and professional middle classes clearly wanted was greater social recognition, easier access to rank and power, and wider careers for their talents. Ambition and envy are impelling motives.

Yet motives alone do not explain what happened. The climate of opinion was rational, liberal, and optimistic, the monarchy not averse to reform, the aristocracy itself permeated by ideas of the Enlightenment. Reason and Nature were the fashionable catchwords. Why then did the Revolution take such a terrible course? One reason was the peculiar character of the French constitution, or rather its absence, since France did not have a constitution as understood in England or America. The king had a measure of personal, that is to say arbitrary, power; but for political purposes it was probably smaller than that enjoyed by George III across the English Channel. Louis XVI, a dull and ordinary man who did his limited best, was enmeshed in a tangle of legal rights and privileges—class, corporative, and provincial—which strangled every reforming initiative. The French legal and administrative system seemed, and in its own terms actually was, incapable of amendment. Events in France before 1789 demonstrated Edmund Burke's dictum that "a state without the means of some change is without the means of its own conservation." The fact that the king had recourse to the medieval institution of the States-General, which had not met for 175 years, was a measure of the deficiencies of the existing constitutional machinery. Given this vacuum in central power, the vacillation of the monarchy and its advisors, the political inexperience of the first elected assemblies and their heavy supercargo of idealists and doctrinaires, the physical pressure of the discontented and sometimes starving Parisian proletariat, and, finally, the gratuitous involvement in war with the great powers of Europe—given all this, the slide into anarchy, regicide, terror, and bloodshed had an air of inevitability.

There is, however, a fallacy here which is compounded by our tendency to talk and therefore to think of the French Revolution as an entity. This is untrue historically and misleading intellectually. It was a sequence of events, a succession of erratic responses to unprecedented circumstances, in which ambition, fear, greed, and brutality came to the surface as well as idealism, hope, courage, and patriotism. This instability lasted a whole decade, from 1789 to 1799, and gave rise to an extraordinary series of political improvisations—constitutional monarchy, republicanism, single-party rule, dictatorship of the proletariat, oligarchy, and finally military despotism. They were accompanied by other significant phenomena—the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people and its usual concomitant, the supremacy of the state, universal conscription, popular tribunals, nationally organized political parties, the role of the doctrinal expert, plebiscites, inflation, schemes of social welfare, terrorization of domestic opponents, and mass emigration of refugees (two-thirds of those who fled from France between 1789 and 1799 were middle-class, artisans, or peasants).

SEPARATELY all these things had been seen before in Europe; but never in such a compressed and violent form: a cataclysm engulfing the leading state. To France's neighbors it was as though a great nation had gone mad; but what is now tragically obvious is that it foreshadowed the Europe of the future. In the century that followed, the explosive mixture of liberalism and nationalism produced revolutions or attempts at revolutions in state after state of continental Europe. If we widen the view to include Napoleon's Empire and the Congress of Vienna (the first modern attempt at the total military domination of Europe and the first modern attempt to construct a new international order in Europe to preserve peace and order),

Mr. Gash is an emeritus professor of history at St. Andrews University.

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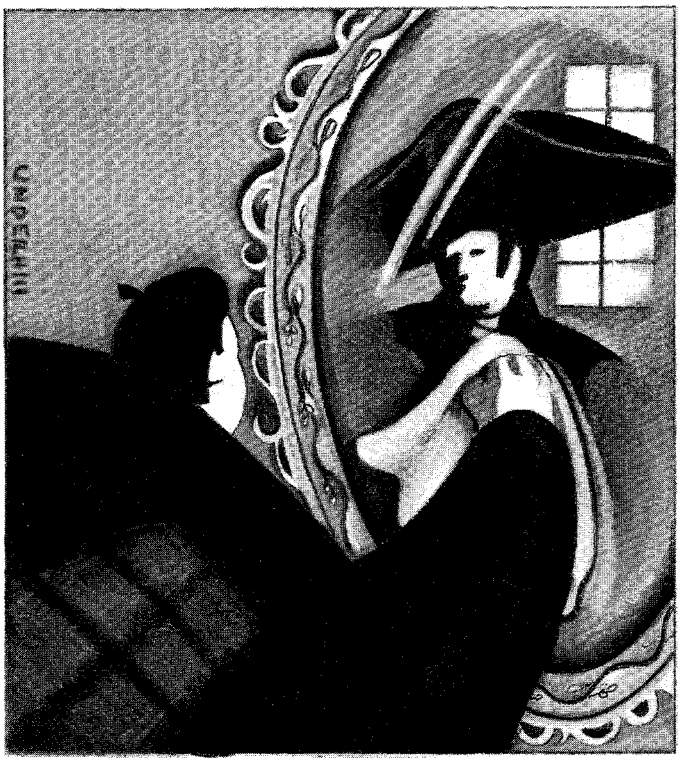
the prophetic character of the French Revolution is complete. In the events of 1789–1815 all the significant political developments in Europe for the next century and a half seem to have been encoded.

It would be historically pretentious, however, to treat the French Revolution as a unique, isolated event that decided the future of Europe. Even if it had not taken place, common sense suggests that the main lines of European evolution would have been much the same, though perhaps the pace might have been slower. Liberalism based on representative institutions, nationalism based on linguistic unity, the rise of the sovereign state, the centralization of administrative power at the expense of provincial, the increasing responsibility of government for the welfare of its subjects, the ability to mobilize a whole society for war, military defeats in consequence giving rise to revolution and revolution to tyranny, international conflicts followed by international institutions to preserve harmony—these things were the products of European society as a whole. As the French historian Buchez wrote in 1834, the French Revolution was "the last and most advanced consequence of modern civilization."

The historical process is, nevertheless, a complicated web of actions and reactions. Though in a larger sense the French Revolution was a product of European society, it also helped to shape that society. It did so in two notable ways. The first was what might be called its missionary role. At first by example and then by occupation and annexation, revolutionary France spread its ideas into a large area of Western Europe. As nineteenth-century French historians were perhaps too fond of saying, it was the historic destiny of France to bring the enlightened concepts of liberty, equality, and fraternity to backward, semi-feudal Europe. Liberalism and reform marched behind French bayonets; corrupt despotisms were overturned; effete social systems vanished. Not only the map but the structure of Europe was redesigned. Things could never be the same again; even the dynastic victors at Vienna in 1815 realized that.



Gary Underhill

This civilizing mission of France was assisted, initially perhaps inspired, by the international outlook of the Revolution. Formulated by doctrinaires, its ideas were held to be universally valid. Truth was absolute and indivisible. The Revolution was not solely for the benefit of the French people; it was a step forward for all mankind. Revolution therefore was an article for export. Wherever the people of the Continent were subjected to the same obsolete regimes against which the French Revolution had been directed, France offered not merely the force of its example but the promise of its assistance. This was the meaning of *fraternité*; this was the message of the famous proclamation of 1792. Those who resisted the ideas of the Revolution were monsters and tyrants; those who embraced them were men and brothers. Jeremy Bentham, the virtuous English radical philosopher, was made a French citizen and actually cast a vote (for Bonaparte) in the plebiscite of 1799. It was an example of idealistic cosmopolitanism that would have earned the approval of the great internationalist *philosophes* of the eighteenth century.

YET, ODDLY ENOUGH, the ideas of the French Revolution, so forcefully scattered over Western Europe, were not peculiarly French. The intellectual leaders of the Enlightenment, men like Voltaire and Montesquieu, had looked in their day to England as a model of political liberty, with its limited monarchy, rule of law, and division of powers. A second inspiration had come with the American Revolution and its epoch-making declaration not only of independence but of the rights of man—the latter largely derived from the writings of the Englishman John Locke. The conservative German historian Oswald Spengler, in his once famous *Decline of the West*, pointed caustically to the paradox that the armies of the French Revolution and Napoleon were the agents for enforcing on Europe a political philosophy that was essentially English in origin, based on representative institutions, individual liberty, free economic enterprise, and capitalism. It was an historical irony that was lost on contemporaries. Nevertheless, that system, already triumphant in England and America, was to win the day in the nineteenth century over the absolutism, privilege, stratified societies, and economic restrictions that characterized the old order in Europe. When, in a theatrical gesture dear to the French mind, Lafayette gave the Englishman Tom Paine the keys of the Bastille to take to the American George Washington, the full symbolism of his action was perhaps hardly realized.

That was one aspect of the influence of the French Revolution on the course of European history. The other was the awakening of European nationalism. When Danton claimed for France the "natural" frontiers of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees (something that even Louis XIV had never done), the peoples as well as the princes of Europe had cause for alarm. Ideas that march behind bayonets are rarely popular; reform at the hands of a conqueror earns little gratitude. French rule brought not only enlightenment but hardship. The cost of the Napoleonic Empire in material and financial terms fell mainly on the occupied countries, not on metropolitan France. Aggressive French nationalism provoked counter-nationalism among

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peoples of different race and language. When the first patriotic uprising against Napoleonic tyranny took place in Spain in 1808, its significance was felt all over Europe. Though it was the old dynastic powers that made the peace settlement at Vienna, a new element had entered the politics of the Continent which they already feared.

The revolutions of 1830 and 1848 were a challenge to the old European order but they did not necessarily work in favor of France, since they were as much nationalist as liberal. In Italy and the Low Countries, revolutionary movements could be controlled to some extent by French influence; across the Rhine it was another matter. The nascent national spirit evident after the defeat of Prussia at Jena in 1806 ensured that liberalism would take a Germanic and not a Francophile course. The Allies in 1815 installed Prussia in the Rhineland as a European sentry against France, and the German national song, "Watch on the Rhine," which became so popular at the time of the Franco-German War of 1870, was composed as early as 1840. The great German historian Leopold von Ranke said of that war that they were fighting against Louis XIV. It would be equally true to say that in provoking war with Napoleon III, Bismarck was exploiting the German national feeling first evoked by Napoleon I.

When Danton claimed for France the 'natural frontiers' of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, the peoples of Europe had cause for alarm. Ideas that march behind bayonets are rarely popular.

In the internal history of France the Revolution gave rise to similar currents of attraction and repulsion. The century that followed witnessed an endless debate on the significance of the Revolution, as though the French people were incapable of freeing themselves from the experiences of 1789-1815. Political vocabulary all related to the past: the Restoration, the Second and Third Republics (to be succeeded in due course by the Fourth and Fifth), the Second Empire, the Third Napoleon. Party labels reflected the old dissensions: Royalists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, Republicans. The French disliked the restored Bourbons because they were reactionary; the constitutional Orléans monarchy because it was too bourgeois; the Second Republic because it recalled the dictatorship of the Paris mob; the Second Napoleonic Empire because it proved a dismal parody of the First. In the end a republic seemed the only feasible constitution, not because it appealed to Frenchmen most but because it divided them least.

The intellectuals, always a more influential class in France than elsewhere, mirrored this obsession with the past. The debate among nineteenth-century historians about the true meaning of the Revolution was passionate and partisan. Every scholar, with the exception perhaps of Tocqueville, emphasized the evidence that fit his selective interpretation. Middle-class liberals, like Thiers, Mignet, and Michelet, saw the essence of the Revolution as the liberation of the human mind and condoned its excesses on grounds of national danger. Romantics like Lamartine portrayed the Revolution as the apotheosis of Christianity, with France as a kind of Joan of Arc bringing its visionary message to Europe and suffering a similar fate. For Louis Blanc—socialist, journalist, and politician—the real revolution consisted in the social-reform program abruptly halted in 1794. For royalist, Catholic, and authoritarian writers, from de Maistre and Lamennais to Renan and Taine (and one might add Maurras and the *Action Française*), the Revolution was a profound and tragic error that had perverted the course of French history.

Even today it is not easy for the French to be either indifferent or objective when discussing the Revolution and Napoleon. Yet time and events have worked a change. Two great sacrificial wars in this century, the second inflicting utter disaster and the first at times coming near to it, have drained away much of the old nationalist and patriotic passion. The between-the-wars League of Nations and the postwar European Union served as a new outlet for French aspirations and interests. The internal debate that now rasps the nerves of the French people is over more recent events: 1940 and the Occupation, Pétainists and de Gaullists, Resistance and Collaboration. Though the *bicentenaire* this year is being lavishly commemorated, that in itself perhaps is a sign that the Revolution of 1789 is fading into the historical past. Public relations and tourism, not to speak of self-regarding motives on the part of the French government, seem to have played a more important part than genuine resurgence of feeling.

WHAT THEN REMAINS of the Revolution? First, the obvious legacies—the Republic, the Tricolor, the noble phrases from the Declaration of the Rights of Man still incorporated in the written constitution. Next, and more importantly, the land settlement that has left the French peasants and their array of relatives and associates still a formidable political force; and the Code Napoléon, which still provides the basic legal framework of French life, though derived (it may be noted) not from the 1789 Rights of Man but from Roman law.

The final legacy is what appears to be a special sense of loyalty to the abstract concept of "the state" felt by many educated Frenchmen. Louis XIV may well have said, "*L'état, c'est moi*"; it certainly did not exist anywhere else. But since the disappearance of the monarchy, allegiance has been transferred to a remarkable degree to the state as the embodiment of the nation, the guardian of permanent French interests. Cynical as most French are about politicians, indifferent as many are to the notion of a republic, contemptuous as a few are at the spectacle of a bourgeois president and his wife, this is all balanced by a deep, instinctive obedience to authority among civil servants, senior officers of the armed forces, the legal profession, and the highly trained products of the great *lycées*. It is a tradition made necessary by the instability created by the Revolution; its unacknowledged patron saint, perhaps, is that unsaintly figure Talleyrand, who served in turn Republic, Empire, Bourbon, and Orleanist, but always France. Since the Revolution would not have been possible but for

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the weakness of the state, it is only logical that it should have resulted in a strengthening of the state; and the French are nothing if not logical. □

REFLECTIONS ON THE TERROR

ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

FOR MORE than a century, the French Revolution has been presented in an idealistic light, and in its earliest phase it did indeed have a somewhat elitist character. Rousseau's sentimental foolishness, the anti-religious writings of Voltaire, as well as the perpetual strife between the Jansenists and the official Church had planted leftist notions in the minds of the uppermost social layers.

But the real character of the Revolution was soon revealed in the storming of the Bastille. This was in a way instigated by the Marquis de Sade, whose numerous and rather boring pornographic essays contain long philosophic, political, and anti-religious tirades. Upon his mother-in-law's request, Sade was imprisoned in the Bastille, where he wound up sharing a cell with a few card sharpers, money forgers, and similar crooks. Through a funnel that he used as a megaphone, he appealed through the grilled window for the liberation of "innocent prisoners." The governor of the Bastille submitted a petition to the King, asking for the removal of this highly inconvenient prisoner, who was thereupon transferred, on July 4, 1789, to the hospital for the criminally insane in Charenton. Ten days after his removal from the Bastille his appeals bore fruit. The prison surrendered to the raging mob and a ghastly massacre followed.

The "storming" and its consequences highlight the Revolution's moral breakdown. De Launay, the commander of the Bastille, had achieved a promise of safe conduct for the small garrison consisting of Swiss mercenaries and a few military pensioners. But as soon as these men left the fortress they were brutally killed. De Launay's head did not come off easily and a butcher's apprentice had to be found to finish the job; when he had done his work, the head was carried triumphantly through the streets of Paris.

There ensued a frantic attempt to transform the absolute monarchy into a constitutional one, but once the flood had started, it could not be stopped. Goethe was probably right when he wrote: "Had the kings been kings, they would still stand today." The egalitarian passions were heading for a climax.

That climax—the Terror—came during the rule of Robespierre and his Committee of Public Safety. Terror was the solution to every kind of inequality or even difference. The *République une et indivisible* should be all of one piece, a nation of faceless, undifferentiated masses. The demand for equality leads in the end to the murderous demand for sameness. The Alsatians and Lorrainers, for example, did not speak "*la langue républicaine*." Some Jacobins therefore proposed that their children should be taken from them, while others suggested that the two populations should be scattered all over France. But the solution proposed by a few fanatics was their total extermination. It was only Robespierre's fall that prevented further "reforms" in the manner of Pol Pot and Ceausescu. The "sea-green incorruptible" had not only envisioned uniforms for every Frenchman and Frenchwoman (remember Mao's "blue ants"), he also made plans to destroy all church towers because they offended against equality. In Strasbourg preparations were already under way on the cathedral when he was killed at the age of thirty-six.

The French Revolution was the overture to our "Age of the Gs"—guillotines, gallows, the Gestapo, gas chambers, gulags. The guillotine marks the first step toward a mechanical/technological mass extermination, toward genocide.

The horrors of the French Revolution were undertaken in broad daylight before a frantically applauding mob. *La Terreur* held no mysteries: it was openly intended to spread paralyzing fear. It would be difficult to explain these horrors any other way. There was the ghoulish slaughtering of the Princesse de Lamballe, an intimate friend of the Queen. This frivolous lady had courageously refused to give the oath on the constitution, whereupon she was brutally killed, eviscerated like an animal, and her private parts made into an "arrangement" which was carried in triumph to the Tuileries to be shown to Marie-Antoinette.

The 'sea-green incorruptible' had not only envisioned uniforms for every Frenchman and Frenchwoman, he also made plans to destroy all church towers because they offended against equality.

This crime opened the series of September Massacres instigated by the "moderate" republican Danton. The avowed purpose of those massacres was to dispose of political prisoners; but in fact, prostitutes and juvenile delinquents, some of them mere children, were also dragged out and sacrificed to the "republican virtues." In the same year the Tuileries, too, were stormed, although the Swiss Guards, faithful to their oath, fought to the last man. (The magnificent dying lion carved in stone in the city of Lucerne is dedicated to their memory.) Whichever of these "mercenaries" fell into the hands of the mob alive was tortured to death. A young cook's apprentice who had tried to defend his king was coated in butter and roasted alive.

The beheadings became a favorite amusement for the crowds. But not only the nobility was brought to "*notre chère mère, la guillotine*"—soon wealth alone sufficed as a reason. Actually only 8 per cent of those formally condemned to the guillotine belonged to the nobility; more than 30 per cent were farmers. Lyon, Toulon, Toulouse, and Bordeaux—cities that had revolted against the radical Jacobins—were laid waste. (Napoleon, at that time a Jacobin and close friend of Robespierre's brother Augustin, was "the slaughterer of Toulon.") →

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Bolsheviks of the Bastille

WELL BEFORE 1917, the Russian anarchist Kropotkin said, "What we learn today from . . . the Great Revolution . . . is that it was the source and origin of all the present Communist, anarchist, and socialist conceptions . . . absolutely nothing [was added] to the ideas that were circulating among the French people between 1789 and 1794." Lenin spoke of himself and his comrades as "glorious Jacobins," Trotsky warned of "Thermidorian reaction," and Stalin wrote of "Girondist treachery." To many people for whom the French Revolution is the "Glorious Explosion which regenerated men," this comparison has always been repugnant. The Bolsheviks, however, had a point.

The French sought "*une nouvelle race*," the Soviets a "new man." In France people named their children—and even renamed themselves—after martyrs such as Marat and Le Peletier, as well as taking more elaborate first names like Pas-de-Bon-Dieu (No-God-the-Father). Russian women took names like Electrification and Industrialization; men became Tractor and Melor (an acronym for Marx Engels Lenin, Organizers of the Revolution). A Frenchman could no longer address someone as *monsieur* or *madame*: the new forms were *citoyen*[*ne*]. *Tovarishch*—comrade—was of course the proper Soviet form of address. But these are some of the milder reforms.

"The Republic is the destruction of everything which opposes it," declared Robespierre. Can rare animals oppose the Republic? Apparently they can, because Chaumette, a Convention deputy and the head of the Paris Commune, called for the killing of all rare animals in the Museum of Natural History. Hanriot, Commander of the National Guard, wanted to burn the Bibliothèque Nationale: "We will burn all the libraries, for only the history of the Revolution and the [revolutionary] laws will be needed." Even the dead were not spared: the magnificent royal tombs of Saint-Denis were smashed to pieces, the coffins opened and bones sold as souvenirs. Dialectical materialism in its Soviet version, of course, has given us Museums of Atheism where churches once stood.

Memos and protocols of the Revolutionary Tribunals read like excerpts from the *Gulag Archipelago*. In Soviet Russia, a peasant was shot for carrying a bust of Stalin "disrespectfully, holding it by the neck," or a cabdriver for using a newspaper with Lenin's picture to cover a hole in the sole of his shoe. In revolutionary France a certain Brille was guillotined for "having wrapped a pound of butter in newly issued paper money," thus showing "disrespect for the Revolution"; Antoine Brasseur, a clockmaker, for "being arrogant . . . and speaking ironically about the Revolution."

Chassant, a former priest-turned-educator, wrote that children were obliged to denounce even their parents' deviations from the revolutionary road. A century and a half later, Pavlik Morozov, the 12-year-old son of a collective-farm chairman, denounced his father to the GPU for failing to expropriate the peasants' entire harvest. The old man was arrested and shot; the boy was long praised as a model for all Soviet youth.

Like the Bolsheviks, the Convention declared hoarding a capital offense, and imposed confiscatory prices—enforced by special "appropriation units" accompanied by mobile guillotines. Naturally, there was a food shortage, the bread lines and ration cards in Paris in the 1790s remarkably resembling those in Petrograd in 1918-20. Like their heirs, the French revolutionaries blamed "enemies of the people" for the shortages. The main enemies of the people were of course aristocrats, but here is how a popular orator of the Paris Commune defined that group: "Aristocrats are all the people with money, all the fat merchants, all the monopolists, law students, bankers, pettifoggers, and anyone who has something." This "something" could mean simply a refined appearance, hands with no marks of manual labor, or well-groomed hair ("to keep one's head on one's shoulders it was advisable that it were unkempt," wrote a contemporary).

To remake the people, Boissy d'Anglas saw the state as a monitor of all the individual's activities, "including his inner and private behavior." And children could not be started too young. A Western traveler in the Soviet Union in the Thirties recalled how, upon his visit to a nursery school, he saw portraits of the Politburo members placed at toddler's eye level. He was informed that in the Soviet Union "children learn to admire the leaders at a very early age." In revolutionary France children were taught to see political meanings everywhere—a house of cards was but a symbol of the aristocrats' chateaux swept away by the new regime; a high-flying kite symbolized a citizen enjoying his new freedom. Even "*bonbons patriotiques*" had "lessons in citizenship" printed on their wrappers.

IF THE PEOPLE could not be remade . . . As Stalin starved the restive Ukraine, so the leaders of the French Revolution sought a smaller population, the more easily to remake the nation. Gracchus Babeuf, a student and admirer of Robespierre, wrote that it would be impossible to regenerate such a populous country as France (25 million inhabitants): the Revolution had just begun, but already it was apparent that to divide everything up into equal shares would be impossible—there was not enough money, property, employment, or even bread to go around. Hence Jean Saint-André announced from the Convention floor that "in order to establish the Republic securely, the population must be reduced by more than half." Carrier declared that the nation must be reduced to six million; Guffroy, five million; and Robespierre, not to be outdone by his followers, is reported to have thought that four million would be more than enough. —LEON STEINMETZ

Mr. Steinmetz teaches writing at Harvard. His articles have also appeared in Commentary *and* Chronicles.

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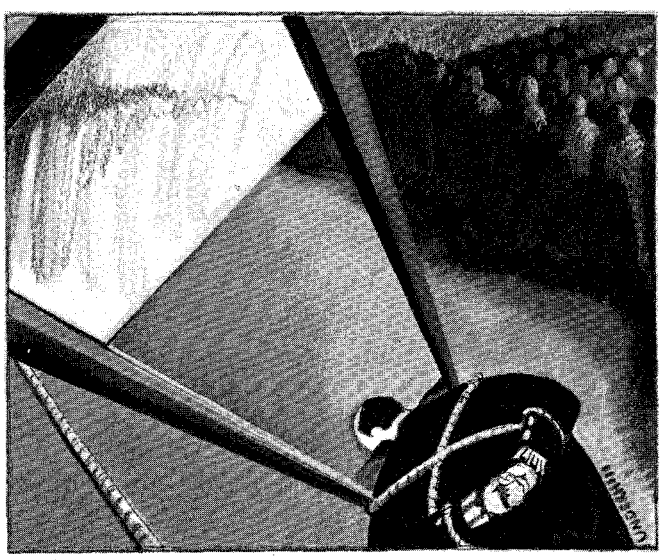
→ The *chouannerie*, the revolt in the Vendée and Bretagne, was a genuine peasant revolt which the nobility and the clergy joined only later. But it was brutally crushed. Robespierre demanded quick, severe, and inflexible justice as a dictate of virtue and a consequence of the democratic principle. In the Vendée, whose name was officially changed to "Vengée" (avenged), the furor of the republicans was directed indiscriminately against the entire population. Even dyed-in-the-wool blue-white-red patriots were not spared. Saint-Just's declaration (October 10, 1793) that not only "traitors," but "indifferents" too, should be done away with was a driving factor, and Danton declared that aristocrats and priests, by their very existence, constituted a threat to a better future.

What was done there and what the Jacobins wanted to achieve can be gleaned from the report of General Westermann to the Committee of Public Safety: "The Vendée is no more, my republican comrades! With her women and children she died under our sabers. I have just buried them in the swamps and forests. As you ordered, the children were trampled to death by our horses, the women butchered so that they no longer can give birth to little brigands. The streets are littered with corpses which sometimes are stacked in pyramids. Mass shootings are taking place in Savenay because there brigands keep turning up to surrender. We do not take any prisoners because they would have to be fed the bread of freedom, but pity is incompatible with the spirit of revolution." Westermann soon got his just reward; he and the infamous Carrier were guillotined together with their good friend Danton.

The ghastly events in the Vendée prove Dostoyevsky's words: "If there is no God, everything is permitted." The massacres, once committed, seemed to remove the final human restraints, and the Revolution turned into a colossal sadistic sex orgy. In Arras the Jacobin Lebon and his wife were seen watching the guillotine at work, rejoicing with the raving crowd at the sight of naked, headless corpses arranged in obscene positions, the so-called *batteries nationales*. Equally hideous were the *noyades*, the drownings in the Loire (overseen by Carrier) of naked men and women coupled and fettered in pairs.

But eventually the Revolution, like all leftist revolutions, devoured its parents. André Chénier, the great liberal poet, was beheaded shortly before Robespierre fell. The Marquis de Condorcet, whose philosophy the moderates had adopted, committed suicide in order to evade the "national razor," and Madame Roland de la Platière shouted from the scaffold: "O liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name." One can hardly imagine a more tragic fate than that of Chrétien de Malesherbes, a liberal royalist and counsel of the King in court, who was forced to watch his daughter, his son-in-law, and their children beheaded before his own turn finally came.



Gary Underhill

A revealing exchange of words took place between Lavoisier's counsel and the judge at his trial: COUNSEL: "You are condemning a great scholar!" JUDGE: "The Republic does not need scholars."

It must be remembered that almost everything the Revolution had originally aimed for—liberality, humaneness, tolerance—existed under enlightened royal absolutism. Not many years lay between the abolition of capital punishment by Catherine the Great in Russia and Grandduke Leopold in Tuscany, and the invention of the guillotine. As for fraternity, Metternich remarked at the time that, if he had a brother, he would prefer to call him cousin.

DID THE French Revolution leave us anything positive? Only the metric system, a very apt legacy, since democracy is principally preoccupied with numbers and measurements. Obligatory military service, ethnic nationalism, and class hatred, on the other hand, were barbed gifts. Simple minds might regard the *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* as a positive contribution, whereas it only shows what somersaults a godless humanism can perform. About the Terror one can still read in French schoolbooks: *La Terreur était terrible, mais grande.* That many "moderates" were among its victims can only be called tragic justice, since they had not taken into consideration the fact that it is always risky to destroy an existing order.

The Age of the Gs! Reading Crane Brinton's *The Jacobins* (New York, 1930), one might get the impression that the Harvard professor had a prophetic vision of Hitler's Third Reich. Only a few years later Goebbels declared to the *Petit Parisien* that the *Umbruch* (revolutionary change) was a counterpart of the French Revolution, and Hitler confirmed this. Jules Romain, in his *les Hommes de bonne Volonté* (Vol. 15), defined a dictatorship of the Nazi type as a later cancerous outgrowth of the French Revolution. Lenin, meanwhile, praised the Jacobins, and the two largest battleships of the young USSR in 1918 were baptized *Marat* and *Danton*. Without the leading men of 1792-1794, Marx and Engels are hardly imaginable.

The philosophies of these three revolutions—the French, the Russian, and the German—all show certain parallels with the course of syphilis. As with the physical disease, we can distinguish three phases, a primary, a secondary, and a tertiary. After the slow development through the first two phases, we inevitably reach the madness of the bloody tertiary phase: the Vendée and the *noyade* of Nantes, the enforced starvation of the Ukrainian peasantry and the Armenian massacres, Auschwitz and Belsen. The words of Benjamin Constant come to mind: "In certain epochs one must run the whole cycle of madness in order to return to reason." □

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HOBBES, HEGEL, & HISTORY

A lifelong politician who is more comfortable discussing history than campaigning, a connoisseur of power who could not hold onto power, Richard Nixon has achieved the position of senior statesman despite all the best efforts of his beloved media.

NIXON VISITED AND REVISITED

PAUL GOTTFRIED

RONALD REAGAN may be our most popular postwar President, but Richard Nixon is undoubtedly our most interesting. Though deploring his anti-Communist activities in Congress and his choice of White House companions, left-leaning biographer Stephen Ambrose repeatedly comes back to Nixon's intelligence and complex character. His personality has also preoccupied two psychobiographers, Garry Wills and Bruce Mazlish. Wills's book *Nixon Agonistes* particularly aroused my curiosity because of its obsessively spiteful tone. Why should Wills feel so strongly about someone he seeks to portray as a conventionally devious pol? And can one reconcile Wills's picture of a shabby opportunist with Whittaker Chambers's celebration of the same figure as a heroic anti-Communist?

Unlike Wills and other intellectuals, I for one find nothing particularly crooked about Nixon's ascent to power. Though he charged some Democrats with being soft on Communism, the accusation was arguably just for Helen Gahagan Douglas, his opponent for a senatorial seat from California in 1950, and certainly no worse than what Democrats have said about Republicans. In 1948, for example, Harry Truman depicted Thomas Dewey and the Republican Party as being soft on fascism. This baseless and by 1948 anachronistic charge and Lyndon Johnson's even more outrageous assault on Barry Goldwater as a nuclear maniac are rarely mentioned by those who present Nixon as a *sui generis* defamer of political opponents. Indeed, in his controversial senatorial race, Nixon merely repeated charges against Mrs. Douglas already made by her fellow Democrats.

In Congress, Nixon was far from reckless in investigating alleged Communists. Although he tried to cooperate with Senator McCarthy for the sake of party unity, he was openly skeptical about the latter's methods. Nixon did get the House Committee on Un-American Activities to resume its investigation of Alger Hiss after the case had almost been dropped in 1949, and in 1950 Hiss was found guilty of perjury. Even Garry Wills grudgingly admits that Nixon "did his homework" in preparing the evidence.

So the question remains: Why do journalists and intellectuals continue to hate Nixon? He is, after all, even by his enemies' admission, a man of intelligence. As President he carried out policies—most notably détente with the Soviets and opening relations with Communist China—that the Left heartily endorsed. His involvement in the Watergate coverup was no more reprehensible than things Lyndon Johnson and other Democrats did against their political opponents. The relentless attack on Nixon during the Watergate affair, was, furthermore, only the finale of a rhetorical bombardment that had begun years before. Why had the bombardment continued for so long?

These questions coursed through my mind as I entered Richard Nixon's office for a visit in early January. He had invited me there after a brief correspondence, which began when I discovered from published comments that he thought highly of my book *The Search for Historical Meaning*. A work devoted to Hegel and historicism, it seemed a strange choice for a modern American career politician to read and relish. It was also the first subject he brought up during my visit.

The discussion gave cause for reflection. Here I was in the presence of someone my former academic colleagues had passionately hated; he was also a figure who had spent his life campaigning for office for himself and for others. Yet he seemed more comfortable expounding political theory than he had pursuing his public career.

He recalled affectionately his professor at Duke, Lon Fuller, who had introduced him to Hegelian philosophy. In addressing academic gatherings, he said, he would cite Hegel among other thinkers who had emphasized "the importance of history." Nixon agreed with a critical observation in my book about the shakiness of an American conservatism based more on abstract ideals than on historical example. Indeed, he insisted that those entering public life should immerse themselves in history and biography and in the works of historically minded philosophers. I could now understand Nixon's admiration for Churchill and de Gaulle, both statesmen who had appealed to History.

Throughout our two-hour conversation, my host seemed remarkably energetic for someone who had turned 76 the day before. "I'm trying to forget my birthday," he said, "and hope that others will do the same." Talking affably to me and to his staff when they entered the room, Nixon was both articulate and disarming at the same time. It was hard for me to square my impression of this socia-

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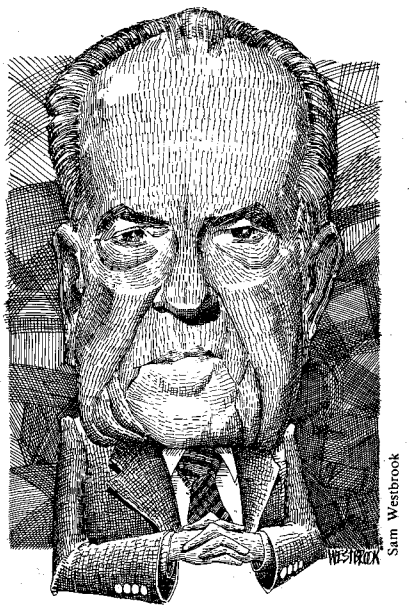
ble, verbally adept conversationalist with the stiff public figure entangled in his syntax I had encountered on television.

In his remarks on intellectuals, Nixon emphatically distinguished between academics and those in the media. He made fun of professors who "argue about petty things for trivial prizes." But he expressed respect for the media: "An adversary that wields real power." Newsmen, he noted in the January 9 *TV Guide*, had survived an "iron law of competition." Power relations dominate Nixon's world view the way global democracy does the vision of Ronald Reagan.



Nixon quoted Thomas Hobbes about democracy's dependence on political oratory. He made this observation jokingly, but it may be indicative of how he views his own career. Here is a political man who hates modern politics. He finds the rituals of democracy a tasteless ordeal through which those destined for statesmanship must pass in order to become historically significant.

I left Nixon's office with copies of his latest book, *1999: Victory without War*, and with a draft of a paper providing policy prescriptions for the Bush Administration which he had just finished for *Foreign Affairs*. The two texts, as I discovered, had overlapping views but also differences in tone. In both writings, Nixon warns against excessive optimism about Russia under Gorbachev. Gorbachev, as viewed by him, is as much a Russian expansionist as Brezhnev had been. Americans, particularly conservatives, had zealously attacked Brezhnev for his adventurous foreign policy and rigid mindset. By contrast, many of those who had denounced Brezhnev, including President Reagan, extol Gorbachev for his unbuttoned demeanor and talk about openness. Yes, Nixon favors negotiations with Soviet leaders, but he also underlines the need to recognize their unchanging imperialist aims.

The Soviets, he maintains, will not release their captive nations nor abandon their socialist rationale for controlling non-Russian peoples. Nonetheless, they have changed their rhetoric to drive a wedge between Americans and Western Europeans. Gorbachev, moreover, is trying to revive an atrophied Soviet economy by obtaining credits in the West. The most critical development in the Soviet empire, according to Nixon, is its leaders' economic desperation, which the American Government should exploit. It should force the Soviets to retreat from their empire, in return for financial assistance. Even so, Nixon has no doubt, or so he told me, that "we and the Soviets will still be fighting and negotiating sixty years hence."

Despite the similar views on the Gorbachev era, the essay for *Foreign Affairs* tells more about Nixon's innermost being than does his newest book. In *1999: Victory without War* Nixon warns against those who strain to impose modern Western ideas on other political cultures, but he also exalts democracy and human rights. Conflicting tendencies surface in this work. Following statements of historical conservatism are pleas to "rectify the inequalities from which blacks and other minorities suffer." Nixon also refers to "the blot on our past" of an unfinished civil-rights revolution. Such comments illustrate Nixon's stiff attempt to accommodate the democratic spirit. He expresses sensitivity on certain social problems in order to get the public to listen when he speaks more bluntly.

And he does speak bluntly in his essay for *Foreign Affairs*. Here one enters a Hobbesian world of international relations, in which only dread of violent death can bring men together. Nixon quotes Harold Macmillan's assertion that alliances are "held together by fear, not love." He cautions: "For many in Europe and the United States, the fear of the Soviet Union has waned, and what love may exist between economic competitors in the West is a very weak glue to hold an alliance together." Western leaders therefore should "educate their publics on the nature and scope of the Soviet threat."

Though calling for a hard line against the Communists, Nixon appeals, here too, to somber realism rather than the hope of a new world order. "Our interests are not threatened by Nicaragua simply because its government systematically violates human rights and spouts anti-American rhetoric. A dictatorship, even a totalitarian one, does not threaten our interests per se. Rather, the Sandinista regime threatens our interests only because Managua . . . has become a base for indirect Soviet subversion of other Central American states such as El Salvador. The problem is not that the Nicaraguan government is Communist but that the Communist government in Nicaragua is inherently expansionist."

It may be useful to contrast this justification for opposing the Sandinistas with a remark by George Bush in his debate with Geraldine Ferraro in 1984. Bush advocated a firm stand against the Sandinistas in order to "perfect democracy" in Central America. An argument that supporters of Contra aid, from Morton Kondracke to Ollie North, have made, it is not one that would occur to Richard Nixon. The former President does not call for an ideological crusade in order to oppose an armed doctrine.

In light of his world view, it is not surprising that Richard Nixon has few friends among the verbalizers. (Mary McGrory expressed shock that Nixon had been invited to a spring dinner by the Gridiron Club despite his "offenses against the press.") His enemies hate him most of all for not liking their brand of politics, the do-good, messianic cant that has become the idiom of public discussion. Though Nixon has used this idiom, he has done so insincerely and without any pleasure. Unlike Michael Dukakis, he doesn't talk about compassion or believe the best about progressive enemies. And unlike Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, he could not proclaim himself an "enthusiast for democracy" without blushing. Indeed Nixon may view his fate as Hobbes interpreted the Peloponnesian War, as an object lesson that democracies work badly. Even so, he deserves to be in public life as "one who knows the real world." This inscription from a copy of *1999* that he gave me describes Richard Nixon far better than it does me. □

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GONNA STUDY WAR ONCE MORE

Walter A. McDougall

War: Ends and Means, by Paul Seabury and Angelo Codevilla (Basic, 306 pp., $19.95)

"Gonna lay down my sword and shield / Down by the riverside / And study war no more."

THIS WINSOME PLEDGE from the Negro spiritual can be an anthem of conversion for the individual soul. When made the motto for a nation it is an intimation of suicide. And it became the motto of the United States during the 1960s, when hawks, moved by hubris, and doves, moved by shame and fear, turned their backs on the wisdom about war so painfully earned through millennia of bloodshed and folly.

First the Kennedy and Johnson men became smitten with the technological fix. Substituting computer logic and civilian accounting methods for timeless lessons of strategy based on human nature, they forced the Pentagon to give up Clausewitz for regression analysis. Then the protest generation rebelled against the dehumanization of war and the academy ("I am a human being—do not bend, fold, spindle, or mutilate"). But in railing against the Vietnam War and the nuclear-arms race, the "destructive generation" threw out the baby with the bath water, labeling as fascist not only the foolish means, but also the ends of American military policy. In time, the student Left became the tenured professorial Left, and the sober study of diplomatic history, security policy, and military science retreated on American campuses. It was as if the classics of strategy constituted an occult body of knowledge to be locked away in library garrets lest tender souls discover them and be tempted of the devil.

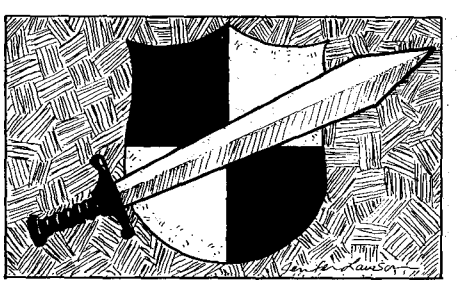
To be sure, impressive books on war continue to be written, but by military renegades like Colonel Harry Summers, think-tankers like Edward Luttwak, and British academics like Michael Howard, John Keegan, and D. C. Watt—rarely by American professors. Instead, we observe the proliferation of curricula in "peace studies" programmed by the pacifist Left, resulting in a generation of American students as confused and misinformed about war, peace, and the relation between the two as they are, for instance, about God, man, and the relationship between the two.

Yet young Americans are still fascinated by war—and not just the boys who play "GI Joe" or dream of becoming "Top Gun." They thirst for knowledge of World War II and of Vietnam; they admire the genius of a Bismarck. To the consternation of leftists, feminists, and deconstructionists, a good course in diplomatic history or international security still attracts many times more students than one in French social history or gender studies. In fact, just two days after I was asked to review *War: Ends and Means* I received the following letter from a 17-year-old student in a military academy:

> I am of the belief that wars have failed as an extension of national politics. I believe that the differences between countries can be solved by diplomacy. I believe that massive killings of armies and civilians have created a dangerous precedent that may ultimately lead to the destruction of mankind! . . . My dad feels that there will *always* be wars because of historical differences in language, boundaries, religious beliefs, population explosions, etc. . . . Is dad right by saying there will always be wars or am I right by my conviction that animosities between countries can be negotiated? We both would value your opinion and would be most grateful for your kindest help!

The letter moved me deeply—not because of its idealism or innocence, but because of its humility, filial respect, and deference. How much one yearns to tell an inquiring child the facts of life, and how melancholy it is finally to get the chance!

It is precisely this sort of inquiry that Paul Seabury, a professor of political science at Berkeley, and Angelo Codevilla, a veteran of the Senate Intelligence Committee staff and fellow of the Hoover Institution, determined to satisfy. Their purpose is nothing less than to reintroduce the American student to the forbidden wisdom of war—what causes it ("It is not that they love peace less," wrote St. Augustine, "but that they love their kind of peace more"), how to prevent it ("Hap-



Mr. McDougall teaches history at the University of Pennsylvania and is the author of The Heavens and the Earth: A Political History of the Space Age *(Basic), which won the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1986.*

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ PERILS OF PUBLISHING: With its four block-long faces of blank sandstone, the Washington, D.C., Convention Center resembles a kind of urban fortress—and so made a fitting venue for this year's convention of the American Booksellers Association (ABA). Though the convention's official theme was a celebration of the Year of the Young Reader, its unofficial theme was: Book People under Siege.

Over the June 3 weekend, 24,000 publishers and booksellers gathered to meet, eat, drink, and preview fall lists. Despite months of brave opinion-page handwringing over the fate of publishers and publishing in the wake of the Salman Rushdie affair, to judge from appearances, these people, and the business they do, remain in fairly robust shape.

Nevertheless, like most of us who live and work under circumstances far removed from any real threat to life or livelihood, book people relish the sensation of danger. And so it was that, although the ABA had received no threat of hostile action, for the first time ever at an ABA convention, entering conventioneers were directed through banks of arched metal detectors, attended by the same counter-terrorism team that protected the 1988 Seoul Olympics. Upstairs the ABA sold white T-shirts emblazoned with the defiant slogan: "Free people write books. Free people sell books. Free people read books."

Defiant—of what? Over the course of the weekend, the Ayatollah's name came up repeatedly. Across the street, at Washington's palatial Grand Hyatt hotel, Susan Sontag was one of a series of writers to speak under the vaguely ominous rubric, "Looking Ahead." Saturday afternoon, the day the Ayatollah at last gave up and died, Miss Sontag predicted "a globalization of fear and vulnerability," which she promised the Ayatollah and other "aggrieved militants" will inspire. Though praising the "civic courage" of bookstores that displayed Rushdie's book, she predicted "more self-censorship, more conformity, more blandness." The effects of self-censorship, she said, could be seen already in the ABA's decision not to convene a panel discussion of the Rushdie affair. The assembled booksellers applauded themselves vigorously. At a press conference anticipating the publication of Robert Bork's *The Tempting of America* (Free Press), a reporter from the North American Press Syndicate suggested that the Rushdie affair be seen as a constitutional issue. Didn't the notorious judge agree that "the Constitution guarantees a right to read"?

But the tormentors of book people are legion. They include not only the late Ayatollah, but also—Ed Meese. At a cocktail party in honor of Meese's forthcoming memoir, *Witness to History* (Holt), a group of California booksellers handed out letters at the door protesting Holt's decision "to choose the occasion of the ABA convention to promote and publicize the work of a person who has not been a supporter of First Amendment rights." Another American political figure to make the list of enemies of free speech was Senator Dennis DeConcini. Speaking on "Bookselling Issues for the Nineties," Joyce Meskis, owner of a Denver bookstore, objected to the 1988 Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act, which seeks to prevent the publication of child pornography, and of which DeConcini has been a prominent supporter. "If we're not careful," she warned, "from the ashes of the burned books of history there will be produced a chilling effect on authors, booksellers, and publishers—a chilling effect so cold as to produce an ice age on the free flow of ideas that are necessary to the continuation of our democratic society."

Meanwhile, beyond the walls of the Convention Center, the day the convention drew to a close the Ayatollah was buried in Teheran, having failed so much as to pluck a hair from the head of one publisher, vendor, or sympathetic reader of Rushdie's book. Photographs of naked children remained difficult to find at most newsstands, but available nevertheless to the determined enthusiast. And the Republic survived. —DAVID KLINGHOFFER

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py is the city," proclaimed the doges of Venice, "that in time of peace thinks of war"), and how to win it ("To subdue the enemy without fighting," wrote Sun Tzu, "is the acme of skill").

In the course of their exposition, Seabury and Codevilla expose and rebut ten major myths about war propagated with lethal effect by either the "peace studies" crowd or our civilian technocrats. The first is that wars are somehow the product of impersonal forces—economic competition or arms races, for example. To assert this is to mistake symptom for cause, for ultimately war springs from a flawed human nature that creates situations in which "reasonable people regard 'kill or be killed' as the best option available." Hence the second myth to be buried is the smug chant, "War is bad, peace is good." In fact, war is often to be preferred to conditions conventionally called "peace." Consider that in the twentieth century, in which some 35 million people have died as a result of military operations, over 100 million have been killed by political police, from Turkish Armenia, through Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, Maoist China, and Pol Pot's Cambodia, to the present-day Sudan. A third myth popular among "peace studies" types is that "fighting never solved anything"—to which Charles Burton Marshall once replied: "Oh yeah? Ask a Southerner!" Like it or not, every great issue in history has ultimately been settled by war.

Seabury and Codevilla are equally irreverent when it comes to the myths of the modern technocrat. It is fashionable, for instance, for political scientists to quantify national power by reference to population, GNP, technological sophistication, and so forth. But size and potential did not save Rome (or the U.S. cause in Vietnam), and to focus attention on them is to distract the student from the determining roles played by national discipline, leadership, strategy—and will. So distracted, the student is likely to believe a corollary myth: that military power is a commodity a nation can buy. Rather, military service is more like familial love—an act of devotion unto death—and, as Machiavelli wrote, a nation that cannot evoke such love, and must rely on mercenaries, is doomed.

A sixth myth of our day is that nuclear weapons have changed forever the principles of strategy and tactics. Not so, say the authors: The precepts of Sun Tzu and Clausewitz concerning strategic deception, the indirect approach, economy of force, striking the enemy's center of mass, and breaking his will are as valid today as ever. For war is a human relationship, not a game of computer solitaire, and strategy is an art of adaptation, not a science of application. Nor (Myth #7) has modern weaponry made war more destructive. For the damage done in war is a function of intentions, not tools. (Genghis Khan had no atomic bombs.) And this means that the link between ends and means is inescapably moral—that to relegate all parties in war to the same moral plane (Myth #8) is a conceit. Yet students are taught that there is no moral distinction between the U.S. and the USSR simply because both sides employ nuclear weapons, spies, and so forth.

A ninth myth identified by Seabury

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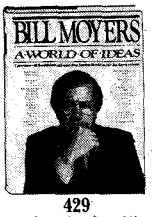

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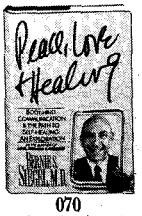

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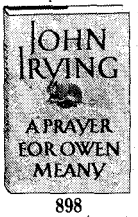

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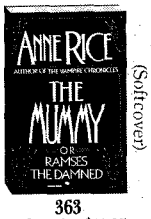

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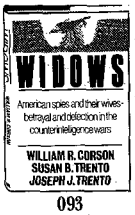
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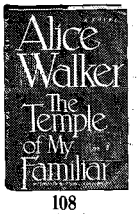

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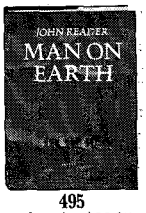

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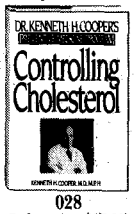

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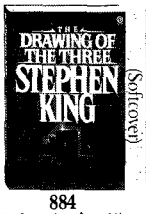

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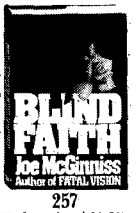

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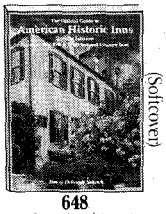

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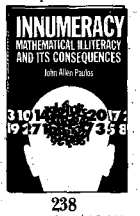

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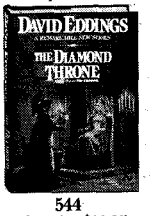

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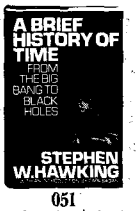

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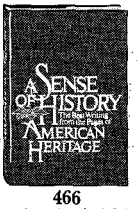

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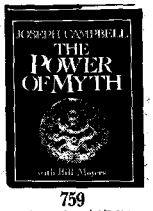

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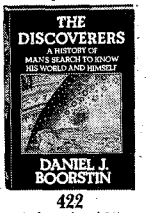

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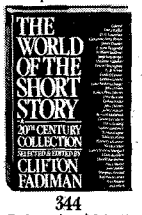

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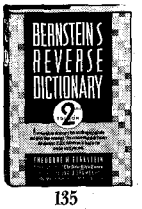

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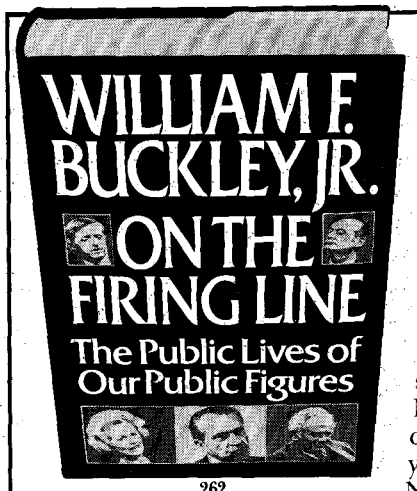

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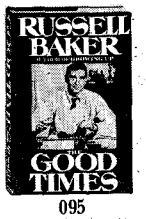

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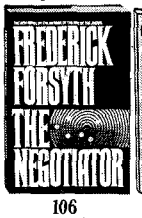

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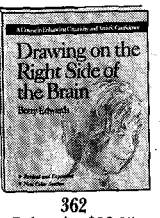

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and Codevilla is that war is the solvent of society and civic virtues, and thus to be avoided at all costs. Rather, say the authors, war is more accurately viewed as a society's supreme test—"the ultimate election" in which the people vote for the survival or destruction of their own polity according to their willingness to sacrifice. Tenth, and finally, the authors deny that the world since 1945 is "outgrowing" war. The fact is that "today's world is filled with more people animated by greater hatred and possessed of more means to make war than ever before."

Perhaps all these myths are derivative of the monster myth, born of the Enlightenment's denial of original sin, to the effect that war is an aberration, rather than the norm, in human affairs. But the burden of this book is that even the belief that peace *should* be the normal condition of man is limited today to shrinking portions of the Western world. For only when Christianity pronounced all men to be brothers under a heavenly Father did war become something that had to be justified and its conduct something that had to be constrained. Moreover, the purpose of peace, according to St. Augustine, was not to enable the pursuit of wealth and hedonism, but to foster virtue. But modern thinkers from Rousseau and Marx to Freud and Dr. Spock denied the Christian explanation of war, seeing its roots in eradicable contingencies like monarchy, aristocracy, class or race oppression, or collective neurosis, while war itself in the age of nationalism and industrialism became increasingly beastly. The result of these misapprehensions and horrors is that many late-twentieth-century Americans display a profound aversion to the use of force for any purpose and cling desperately to peace without an understanding of what peace is for.

The bulk of *War* is a primer on strategy and tactics, the material and political conditions of conflict, the impact of weapons technology and intelligence assessment, and the moral principles of just war as codified by the medieval Church in the *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*. The historical illustrations are sometimes of dubious accuracy or relevance, and each chapter seems to push a political agenda (such as SDI deployment) or grind an axe (as in the attacks on NATO strategy or the mismanagement of American force in Vietnam, Iran, and Panama). But the common-sensical passages far outweigh the dubious or tendentious ones.

Above all, the sections on political warfare and intelligence demonstrate the continuum embracing war and peace. If war is won by breaking the enemy's will to fight, then subversion, intimidation, and demoralization through grey and black propaganda, agents of influence, and outright espionage are weapons potentially as deadly as tanks and missiles.

But perhaps the greatest danger to American security today is not the missiles and spies of Moscow, or the bombs of terrorists, or the export industries of Japan, but the myths about war and peace being drummed into the heads of millions of American students. And so I shall urge my young letter-writer to read this book, in hopes that he will learn that conflict is rooted in human nature, that diplomacy is not the opposite of war, that conflict is preferable to death and slavery for yourself and those who depend on you, and that the best way of avoiding war is to persuade a potential bully that you are willing and able to bloody his nose.

That is not a popular catechism, especially in the Age of Gorby. But the struggle is not one between war and peace—it never has been. The struggle is always between your peace and mine. □

THE WELFARE STATE AND HUMAN INACTION

Joseph Sobran

The Free-Market Reader: Essays in the Economics of Liberty, edited by Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr. (Ludwig von Mises Institute, 400 pp., $11.95)

Man, Economy, and Liberty: Essays in Honor of Murray N. Rothbard, edited by Walter Block and Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr. (Ludwig von Mises Institute, 423 pp., $25)

We live in what the Chinese call "interesting times." Communism is in collapse and, in what one hopes are its death-throes, is displaying its most inhuman face. Socialism is in disrepute even among intellectuals who have never had to live under it—a historic first, I believe. Free economies around the world are flourishing.

And yet the mystique of the state grips us with amazing tenacity. After eight years of Ronald Reagan, American politics is still dominated by the presupposition that "government" is the correct answer to every problem—and "problems" (poverty, AIDS, pollution, homelessness) are defined in practice as anything for which a governmentally funded "solution" can be conceived.

American conservatives, moreover, are suffering from a malaise and confusion that come as a surprising contrast to their recent sense of triumph. Factional bickering has broken out, especially with neoconservatives. What has gone wrong?

Part of the problem is that a movement that began in resistance to the welfare state thought it had won a final victory when it had only won temporary and partial control of the welfare-state apparatus. It was fine to make alliances with neoconservatives where there was a real common ground, but in the haste to bury old hatchets a few principles were buried too. Support for Reagan became too personalized, and therefore uncritical, as loyalty tends to be.

It looks as if the more egregious forms of collectivism are going into remission, thank heaven. When the leader of the Soviet Union says the sort of things about Communism that the *New York Times* used to rebuke Reagan for saying, things are looking up. But this means that conservatism faces subtler challenges in the years ahead, if only because there are fewer obvious monsters to fight.

What is needed now is not more of "our" guys in Cabinet-level positions, but a return to principled thinking about the nature of government. That kind of thinking has become a near monopoly of libertarians, as two new books attest.

The Free-Market Reader is a collection of articles from *Free Market*, the little journal of the Ludwig von Mises Institute. I wish I could describe it without using the E word, because to say it's "about economics" will immediately repel some readers who assume that the subject must be boring, technical, or beyond their ken. In fact, it is thoroughly lively, in the spirit of one of its patron saints, Henry Hazlitt. What it does unremittingly

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is to connect economics with politics and ethics.

Here is a fair sample, quoted from Hazlitt himself: "If you forbid what is harmful to others, you have a big enough job for any government to take care of. Moreover, you have definite logical boundaries to that job. But if you begin to demand altruism, legally, then there are no logical limits until everybody has been forced to give away all he has earned . . ."

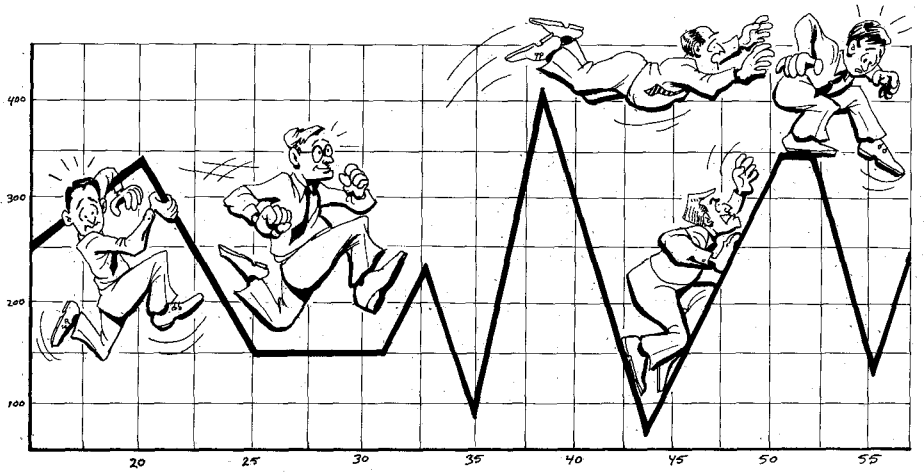
Here is the editor, Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr., on the Federal Reserve System:

> Inflation benefits the Fed and its constituents as counterfeiting benefits a counterfeiter and his gang. The private counterfeiter, however, is a relatively minor criminal; the Fed does exactly what the counterfeiter does, but massively and on a worldwide scale. As in so many other areas, what is (rightly) condemned in the private sector is lauded in the public.

A few dozen such passages, and you grasp that economics is, as von Mises always insisted, a subdivision of "human action," not a self-enclosed set of impersonal forces, like physics. And you intuit that law based on property rights is a system of assigning personal responsibility, while the modern state has become a gigantic device for obscuring same. Jim Wright and his colleagues have been seeing to it that a trillion dollars a year are diverted, untraceably, from those who earned them to favored recipients, thereby dislocating the primal ratio between act and consequence that makes human action rational.

If there is now a Grand Ayatollah of free minds, it's probably Murray Rothbard, who, like von Mises, has managed to be a seminal thinker without being able to find a respectable and secure academic niche. Rothbard has never been afraid to be cranky. He has a free-wheeling way of exploding ideas you didn't realize you held. *Man, Economy, and Liberty: Essays in Honor of Murray N. Rothbard* pays generous tribute to this man who makes Ayn Rand look like a Tory.

You may not want to follow Rothbard all the way to philosophical anarchism, but you are denying yourself real intellectual adventure if you don't give him a try. He is never frivolous, though his prose is always peppery. The key to his thought is an insistence on understanding economics in terms of human action, or what von Mises also called "praxeology." He takes nothing for granted, and hews to no party line, even on the libertarian side. He challenges the Laffer curve, the flat tax, and just about all conventional thinking about trade deficits and stock-market fluctuations and balanced budgets. He's not being contrary; he doesn't settle for contradiction for its own sake. More often than not, he shows that the conventional view is not so much erroneous as out of focus, framed in misleading terms and in need of refinement.



His iconoclasm is free of rancor. He thinks we are being swindled by people who don't think of what they do as swindling. He is as severe on supply-siders as on Keynesians.

It's heartening that such a maverick should win so many trenchant admirers. One of the most amusing is Gary North, who lists 13 of Rothbard's "Nobel Prize-losing insights." It's also heartening to learn that von Mises and Rothbard have an important following in Poland, where professional economists study their books avidly. Is it possible that the United States will be the last stronghold of collectivism? □

STYLE IN HISTORY

John Lukacs

Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution, by Simon Schama (Knopf, 948 pp., $29.95)

THIS BOOK is especially impressive because of the vast amount of reading, none of it superficial, that informs it. Professor Schama has an eagle eye for details, drawn from this odd work or that, which are significant and connectable; he also writes well, except when he declines into trendiness. *Citizens* is a valuable, intelligent, often interesting, and at times witty grab-bag of information about the French Revolution; a "chronicle," however, it is not. Rather, it is a series of sub-chapters about people and events in France, ending with July 1794 (which was not when the French Revolution ended), that at times amount to nothing more than vignettes, as when Schama concludes his Epilogue with a sketch of a deranged harpy, Théroigne de Mericourt. (He should have ended with an impression of Bonaparte in that year.)

Schama is one of those promising historians from Britain whom Harvard, Yale, and Princeton were snapping up a few years ago and who (I am thinking particularly of Paul Kennedy and John Keegan) thereafter, in America, wrote books that have been considerable publishing successes but that are also distinctly second rate by comparison with earlier of their works published in Britain (a consequence of the relative ease of academic living in the United States, no doubt). *Citizens* is not second rate; still, as I have suggested, tasteless modernisms do keep creeping in. Schama is greatly taken with the term "modernization" itself and indulges his fondness to the point of meaninglessness. In his Preface, for example, he attributes to Tocqueville an "understanding of the destabilizing effects of modernization before the Revolution"—which is almost nonsense. (Tocqueville was concerned with the effects of centralization.) On several occasions, Schama uses the phrase "semantic freight" or "semantically freighted"; sub-chapters bear such titles as "End Games" and "Damage Control."

Mr. Lukacs's most recent book is Budapest 1900 *(Weidenfeld & Nicolson).*

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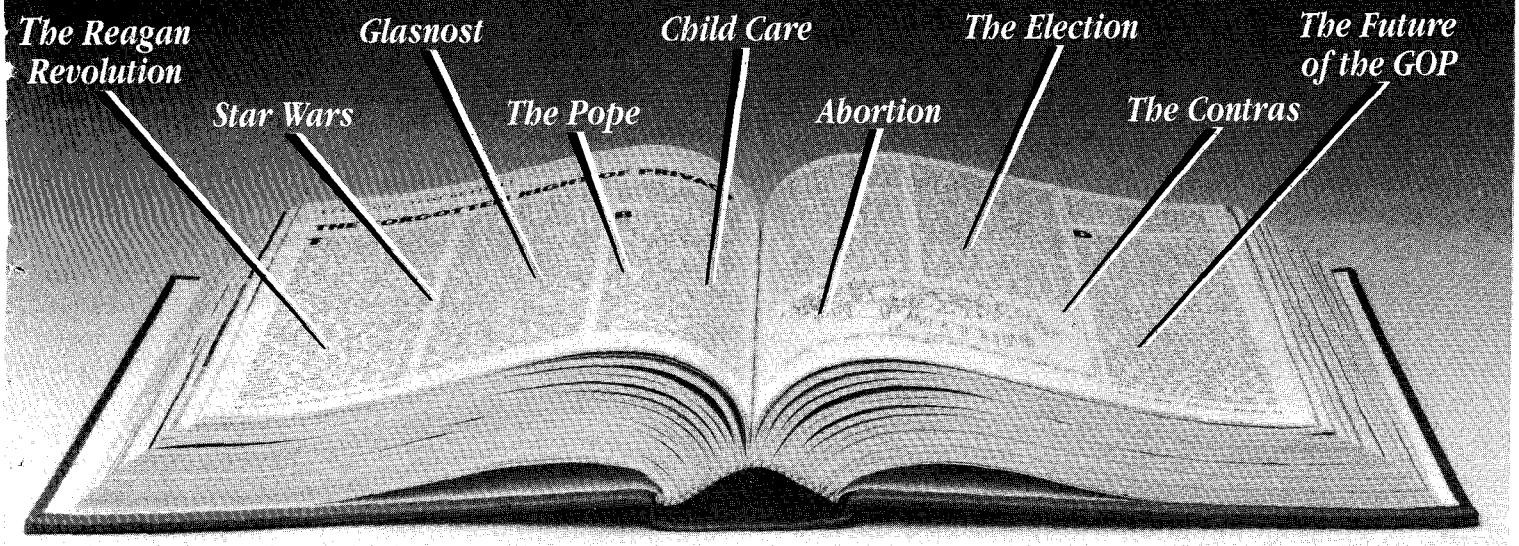

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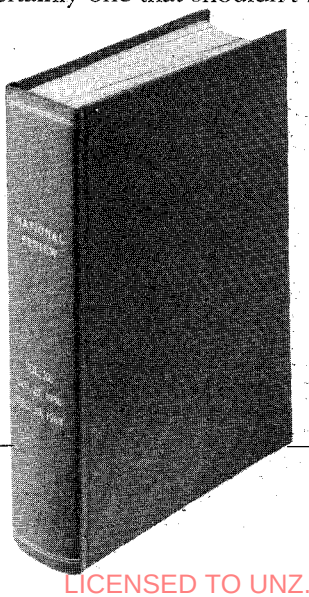

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Before translating himself to Harvard, Schama did not write such stuff.

In a broader sense also *Citizens* is a product of its time, though at the more general level the influence is for the better. "An idea whose time has come" is one of Victor Hugo's lamentable phrases; an idea whose time has come is usually no good—usually, but not always. In the present instance, the time has finally arrived to deplore much (though not everything) that occurred during the French Revolution. That the terror and the violence and the destruction engendered were dreadful is scarcely a new thought; it has been presented, in fact, for two hundred years, and not only by "conservatives" (a political term that two centuries ago did not exist) but also by Burkean Whigs and even by moderate liberals. Yet the conclusion that the French Revolution was productive of more bad things than good ones was unthinkable—and certainly unspeakable—among most professional historians in France as well as in the United States until relatively recently. It was not until the Hitler period that some people began to see in revolutionary France certain features of the totalitarianism to come. This trend in perception is now increasing, even among French historians, whose predecessors should have taken note of what the young Simone Weil wrote more than fifty years ago: "It is not religion but revolution which is the opium of the people."

I believe that there is another reason for the present re-evaluation of the French Revolution, and that this reason has to do basically with style. There is something about the rhetoric and the posturing, the oratory and the symbolism of the revolutionary era that strikes us today as immature and naïve at best, crazy and imbecilic at worst, and often ludicrous to boot. I am not an American nationalist, I find much of Benjamin Franklin's prose deplorable, and I even think some of Thomas Jefferson's statements in the Declaration of Independence are hyperbolic and untrue. Yet I find the rhetoric of the American patriots entirely more reasonable—and enduring—than that of the French revolutionaries, including even some of their more moderate statements. The sagacity displayed by George Washington and the Constitutional Convention in 1787 remains much more impressive than the oratory that took place in the Estates-General during 1789; while the Constitution of the United States—even weighed down as it has become with many unnecessary and cumbrous amendments—is today a strong guarantee of American liberties. It is not antiquated; whereas there is something in the French Revolution that gives us the impression of being hopelessly outdated, something that can no longer convey inspiration—something so old that it properly belongs in an historical museum.

The best thing to be said of the French is that they know when to change their minds. In 1794 they executed Robespierre. Thereafter the course of the Revolution shifted, a subject I wish Schama had chosen to discuss here since he knows much about the topic: some of his earlier, excellent work in England deals with Bonaparte and the Dutch republic. If only the Russians had dealt similarly with Lenin in 1922. But they didn't. Every people, it is said, has the history it deserves—as well, of course, as the historians. □

SERVING A JEALOUS GOD

Richard John Neuhaus

From Marxism to Judaism: The Collected Essays of Will Herberg, edited by David G. Dalin (Markus Wiener, 294 pp., $19.95)

My problem is that I am expected to say good things about Will Herberg. He was the first religion editor of this journal and so I occupy, as it were, the Will Herberg Chair. Be assured, however, that what follows is not induced by the obligations attending that dignity, and dignity it is.

I had just entered seminary when I read Herberg's *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (1955), and for more than three decades it has been a vade-mecum both troubling and rewarding. That and Herberg's other writings helped open for many of us ventures into the connections between Christianity and Judaism, between religion and the political order, between living as a believer and the responsibilities of a putatively secular world.

In his perceptive introduction to this judicious selection, Rabbi David Dalin notes that Herberg traveled from Marxist faith to Jewish faith under the tutelage of Reinhold Niebuhr, the Reformed-Lutheran theologian whom, in a 1956 essay, Herberg described as the champion of the "new conservatism." Niebuhr's defense of American democracy, wrote Herberg, was "conservatism" combined with "an embarrassed repudiation of the term." In those days, neoconservatives (as they would later be called) who were less embarrassed by the term tended to gravitate toward NATIONAL REVIEW. Some of them, like Herberg, were former Marxists who, in their earnest effort to make sense of the world, had moved from economics to politics, from politics to culture, from culture to ethics, and, finally, from ethics to religion. Herberg, for one, never left the other concerns behind (except possibly for economics). His discovery was that the other concerns cannot be understood, indeed are dangerously misunderstood, in the absence of the ultimate meanings addressed by religion.

Dalin notes that in 1977, when Herberg died after a long and debilitating illness, his work was less well known than it had been 15 years earlier. Yet to read these essays from the mid Fifties through the early Seventies is to be struck by the contemporaneity of Herberg's project. Fifteen years after the last essay in this book (1974), there are many and mainly younger Jewish scholars, including David Dalin, advancing the arguments of which Herberg was once the lonely, and apparently failed, champion. With rare exceptions, the arguments in the present collection might have been written yesterday.

Herberg did not make himself popular with the organizational and rabbinical establishments of American Judaism. At the height of the "religious boom" of the 1950s, when synagogues were being erected by the thousands, Herberg was not overly impressed.

Pastor Neuhaus, NR's religion editor, is the author, with Rabbi Leon Klenicki, of the forthcoming Believing Today: Jew and Christian in Conversation *(Eerdmans).*

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"To put it plainly, the synagogue in America no longer represents a community of believers," he wrote. The synagogue "is becoming an institution in which religion is no longer indispensable." His thesis was that Jews had "arrived" in America because Judaism had been accepted as a full member of the religio-cultural triumvirate: Protestant, Catholic, Jew. By downplaying the religious dimension, Herberg insisted, Jews were not only undermining the basis of their cultural acceptance but, much more ominously, turning Jewish communal life into an ethnic idolatry.

The danger of idolatry was never far from Herberg's mind. He would not have denied being obsessed by it. In his view, Judaism is a corporate obsession with the idolatries that vie for the loyalty of a people chosen to serve a jealous God. For Jews in this century and the last, both socialism and Zionism became such idols. Like others, Herberg saw socialism in its Marxist form as a comprehensive belief system, a rival faith, and he too bore the scars of "the god that failed." Dalin says Herberg was "antipathetic" to Zionism, but it is more accurate to say that he was critical of a Zionism that had been stripped of its "transcendence." That kind of Zionism turns the state of Israel into a substitute for the Messianic Age. Herberg said then what other Jewish scholars are saying today: When the state of Israel becomes the religion of Jews, the state of Israel becomes an idol.

Judaism is messianic, Herberg asserted, or Judaism is nothing. In all times, in all places, in all circumstances, Jews are bound to be, Jews are called to be, Jews are *elected* to be marginal. They do not fit in, they cannot fit in, short of the promised rule of God that is appropriate for a chosen people, and for all people. Every non-religious and non-messianic definition of Judaism is bound to fail, and history makes clear that such failure is likely to be catastrophic in its consequences. Herberg contended vigorously against those who claimed that theology is a Christian invention. Authentic Judaism has always been vibrantly theological, he argued, and the "feeble" state of Jewish theology today reflects no more than a failure of nerve in the face of a supposedly secular culture.

Modern totalitarianism, as witness

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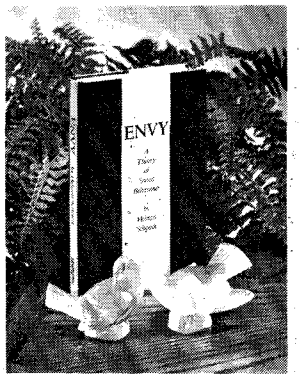
ENVY

By Helmut Schoeck



"Envy is a drive which lies at the core of man's life as a social being . . ." So writes Helmut Schoeck in *Envy*, first published in German in 1966 and in an English translation in 1970. One of the few books to extensively explore such an important topic, this classic study is now available again.

Ranging widely over literature, philosophy, psychology and the social sciences, Professor Schoeck elucidates the very destructive aspects of envy as well as the positive role it can play. He shows that the concept of envy is necessary to fully understand both the totalitarian state and the utter futility of egalitarianism.

"A magnificent achievement. It is not only a basic contribution to social psychology, but also a wise defense of individual excellence and a compassionate but firm refutation of the naive, but all too common, propensity to placate envy. A most timely and necessary book, with the unmistakable stamp of the classic upon it." *Thomas S. Szasz.*

Since 1965, Dr. Helmut Schoeck has been professor and the director of the Institute of Sociology at the University of Mainz.

464 pages. Bibliography, index to names and subjects.

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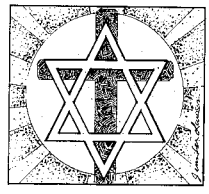
Stalin and Hitler, must be anti-Semitic, Herberg contended. Christians may get in the tyrant's way by virtue of their protests, but Jews are in the tyrant's way by virtue of their very existence. Judaism is of necessity a scandal—a scandal by providential design. Assimilation—or, as he puts it, the effort of Jews to "de-Jew" themselves—not only is futile but destroys the only basis on which Jews and Christians can live together in mutual respect. That basis is religious and is composed of a Jewish and Christian theological understanding of what the Apostle Paul called the "mystery" of Judaism. On these questions Herberg draws deeply from the work of Franz Rosenzweig, another twentieth-century Jew, who almost became a Christian until he was led, as he said, "to return to where I have been elected from birth."

It is not only totalitarians who cannot stand Jews and Judaism. In this country we are familiar with a brand of conservatism that is marked by nativist and chauvinist sentiment. It advocates a form of cultural coherence that requires a clear line between "us" and "them." In the language of that conservatism, which fortunately is itself now marginal, the Jew is obtrusively marginal. Here we encounter the classic language of anti-Semitism about the deracinated, rootless, and cosmopolitan—all of which have frequently been used as code words for Jews and Jewishness. In response to the proponents of a coherent, intact, and finally closed culture, Herberg suggests that Jews should readily plead guilty to not fitting in. "The Jew," he writes, "is most secure in a society that is loose, open, pluralistic, full of undefined, unregimented areas, with plenty of room for non-adjustment, and with a certain tolerance for dimensions of existence beyond nation, state, or culture."

There is, in short, a strong affinity between Judaism and liberal democracy—although not, as we shall see, between Judaism and what current liberalisms have made of that democracy. Herberg wants to accent what he fears too many Jews (and others) want to see suppressed—namely, the oddity, the marginality, of being authentically Jewish. He applies to Jews the description of Christians found in the second-century Epistle to Diognetus: "Every foreign land is to them as a native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers." Jewish marginality would not seem so odd to Christians, he implies, if Christians were more authentically Christian. Agreeing with Rosenzweig that Christianity is "Judaism for the Gentiles," Herberg insists that Christian anti-Semitism is profoundly anti-Christian.

The God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Jesus sends the Christian out to conquer the unredeemed world. But the Christian "is always in danger of relapsing into paganism, and when he does, when the pagan within him rises in revolt against the yoke of the Cross, he vents his fury on the Jew; that is the 'secret' of anti-Semitism." The Cross is the sign of the brokenness and incompleteness of a world awaiting its final redemption. The pagan in the Christian does not want to wait—he wants to get it all together now. That impulse manifests itself in totalitarianism of the Left and the Right, in grand liberal ambitions for redesigning society, and in a conservative yearning for cultural cohesiveness. In each case the Jew is the inevitable victim, for the Jew is the "eternal outsider." Judaism, Herberg is saying, reminds Christians of the Cross they want to escape. Anti-Semitism lashes out not because the Jew is the "Christ-killer" but because he is the "Christ-bringer." At its root, the hatred of Judaism is really the hatred of Christianity.



On the role of religion in American public life, Herberg was a voice in the wilderness, but here too a new generation of Jewish thinkers is making now the arguments that he made then. Organizational Jewry, Herberg believed, had locked itself into an extreme and often mindless "strict separationism" between church and state, between religion and public life. The present essays contain a searing indictment of what, a quarter-century later, would be called "the naked public square." Already then Herberg perceived a liberal Protestant leadership caving in to militant secularism, and disguising its surrender as a romanticized "return to the catacombs."

Herberg had hopes for something like "the Catholic moment" in American life, and he strongly challenged the anti-Catholicism peddled by the Paul Blanshards and devoured with relish by both religious and secular elites. But he was writing before the Second Vatican Council and was understandably worried over whether Roman Catholic teaching could provide a moral and religious legitimation for a democratic society. On another aspect of religio-cultural change, Herberg, for all his prescience, failed completely. He did not anticipate the last 15 years of evangelical and fundamentalist resurgence in American public life. He was vaguely aware of the millions in "the churches of the disinherited," but he thought them culturally irrelevant, and assumed they would stay that way.

But his chief concern was what he viewed as the wrongheadedness of Jewish leadership on questions of religion and public life. Since the early part of the century this leadership had assumed that, the more secular a society, the safer it would be for Jews. Against that assumption, Herberg was convinced that the naked public square is a very dangerous place for Jews. "Jewish survival," he wrote, "is ultimately conceivable only in religious terms. . . A 'de-religionized' society is itself for long impossible. Ultimately, man finds the autonomy which secularism offers him an intolerable burden, and he tends to throw it off in favor of some new heteronomy of race or nation, of party or state, that the idolatrous substitute faiths of the time hold out to him. In such idolatrous cultures, the Jew is inevitably the chosen victim; the lesson of history and contemporary experience seems clear on this head." In that brief statement is compacted a rich agenda for the rethinking of religion and public life—by Jews, and by all of us.

Will Herberg once puzzled William F. Buckley Jr. by remarking that, were he to convert, he thought he would become a Lutheran Christian. Reading again the essays in *From Marxism to Judaism*, the remark seems less puzzling. Herberg's was in many ways a Lutheran spirit, reinforced by Karl Barth's emphatic *no* to cultural accommodation. He recognized that the existence of the Biblical believer is essentially paradoxical, and here he agreed with Reinhold Niebuhr, who, in his Lutheran mode, defined paradox as "a rational understanding of the limits of rationality, . . . an expression

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of faith that a rationally irresolvable contradiction may point to a truth which logic cannot contain."

With Luther, Herberg knew that every man has a god, and most worship a god other than the God Who is God. He understood that faithfulness to God is always cruciform—the way of obedience is the way of the Suffering Servant. About history short of the Kingdom of God, Herberg was pessimistic—or, as he would put it, realistic. In historical time, God rules in a two-fold manner: through the orders of creation, preservation, and reason in the civil realm, on the one hand, and through gratuitous mercy, revealed truth, and faith in the realm of salvation, on the other. These two realms must be kept ever distinct but never separate. This understanding made it possible for Herberg to be religiously serious about nurturing the American experiment in democratic freedom while, at the same time, always keeping that experiment under the judgment of the jealous God Whom he had been elected to serve.

In noting these analogies, I know that I may feed the suspicions of those who question the Jewish credentials of Will Herberg's thought, claiming that he was in fact a crypto-Christian. I am convinced that they are quite wrong. The lesson to be drawn is not how Christian was Will Herberg but how Jewish is Christianity. The hope that that truth may be more generally understood is among the many good reasons to welcome the appearance of *From Marxism to Judaism.* □

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Ralph de Toledano

FOR THE PAST several days, I have been visiting and revisiting Beethoven's five piano concertos, in which he displayed his genius for encompassing both the pianoforte and the full orchestra. I realize that the last piano quartets give the critics more opportunity for exegetical hand-washing—but if I were banished to the famous desert island, it is these concertos that I would take as my allotment of Beethoven.

Artur Schnabel recorded the concertos many years ago, but though he gave me much pleasure in my callow youth, a return to them now hints that his renditions were expressions of musical archaeology. Certainly they are no match for the poetically restrained evocations of Rudolf Serkin or—and I speak of the best—for Paul Badura-Skoda's fantastically beautiful and accurate *Emperor.* Against this we now have all five concertos in one package, by that veteran of the musical wars, Claudio Arrau, with sympathetic backing by Sir Colin Davis and the Staatskapelle Dresden (Philips CD 422 149-2). There will be few complaints and much merited applause. True, in some of the more difficult passages of the Fourth and the Fifth, Arrau's former digital dexterity is not quite there. But throughout, his interpretations have a Mozartean grace and an urbane touch—and a general approach that reminds us that Beethoven's career spanned two musical eras. If the composer's tempestuousness is somewhat lost in the Fourth and Fifth, the First, Second, and Third are total successes.

□ "The closer the performing conditions for Sebastian Bach's concerted music are approximated to those of early-eighteenth-century provincial Germany," Virgil Thomson once wrote, "the more that music sounds like twentieth-century swing." Much earlier, Roger Pryor Dodge, in his pioneering essay "Harpsichords and Jazz Trumpets," had noted the resemblance of the collective improvisations at St. Peter's in Frescobaldi's time to the jam sessions of our day. Both views are realized in recordings of four of Bach's orchestral suites by Christopher Hogwood and the Academy of Ancient Music orchestra (L'Oiseau Lyre CD 417 834-2), and of a selection of Bach's sonatas and partitas for violin, played by Itzhak Perlman (Angel-EMI CD 7494832). The third suite is scored, interestingly, for three trumpets, two oboes, drums, strings, and continuo—a lineup that might easily have been borrowed by, say, →

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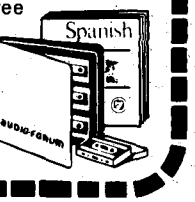

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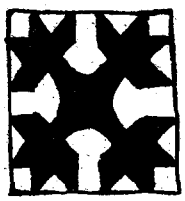
According to Robert Alter, who is a professor of Hebrew and comparative literature at the University of California, "literature, even as it fosters innovation, is an essentially conservative institution. In contrast to the evolution of technology, in which each subsequent stage makes previous stages obsolete . . . each stage of literature *incorporates* the previous stages, the impulse of literary creation being constantly self-recapitulative." What is more: "Literary fashion, generic constraints, cultural assumptions, manifestly change from era to era, but literary tradition constitutes itself as a trans-historical human community." No wonder, then, that literature is under attack—and has been for twenty years—by an assortment of "critical" schools whose primary interest is to demonstrate that the presumed object of their attentions doesn't exist at all, and never has. To the serious writer of the present day, it must seem more and more as if the world is divided into two broad classes: those who can't read, and those who can but don't wish to. Although the situation calls into question the identity of the audience to which Alter's book is addressed, *The Pleasures of Reading in an Ideological Age* (Simon & Schuster, $18.95) is probably more than a pleasurable exercise in futility. If it is true that, as has been recently suggested, the best writers have historically been political conservatives, perhaps to that extent they have been, and remain, historical pessimists as well.



A salient characteristic of the Left is its impatience with and, at times, its denial of the givens of human existence as they are expressed in politics—and in art. Thus it is scarcely surprising that, as Alter remarks, "The very notion that literature is severed from reality because it is composed of conventions, both linguistic and literary, is an unexamined dogma of both Structuralist and post-Structuralist thought." Literature, in this view, is a bourgeois artifact created out of a bourgeois idea of reality and at a double remove from the world as it is actually constituted. It is also, by extension, a form of bourgeois propaganda, indistinguishable finally from a newspaper editorial or a speech by Richard Nixon; and therefore it can—and should—be read as one reads the daily newspaper, including the advertising copy inside it. For the ideological mind, this has become so fixed and pervasive a feature of modern intellectual life that what Alter calls "the high fun of literary reading which does not allow us to settle on stable ground that offers a single unambiguous perspective, like the political slant of newspaper headlines," is unappreciated; in fact, it is totally alien. As nature abhors a vacuum, so ideology abhors the paradox and ambiguity, the combination of the centripetal and the centrifugal, that creates "the lovely tension between structure and openness [that] is one of the distinctive, abiding pleasures of the experience of reading imaginative literature." The ideologue, in other words, abhors a poet. Only a man like Daniel Ortega could have written a line like, "The victory belongs to love."

Quite sensibly, then, the ideologue does not read poets—among whom I include Austen, Tolstoy, Ford Madox Ford, and Faulkner as surely as I do Dante, Keats, Eliot, and Frost. Less sensibly, he continues to read—and, worse, to write—about them. Worse still, the academic ideologue—and most literary critics today belong to this class, which H. L. Mencken in the 1920s dismissed with the observation that a pedagogue must have his theories as a dog has his fleas—insists upon infecting his students with his own anti-literary prejudices. "I strongly suspect," Mr. Alter writes, "that many young people now earning undergraduate degrees in English or French at our most prestigious institutions have read two or three pages of Lacan, Derrida, Foucault, and Kristeva for every page of George Eliot or Stendhal." No one with even an offhand acquaintance with what transpires in departments of English, here and abroad, these days has much reason to doubt the general accuracy of that statement, or of the added remark that "literature faculties may be increasingly populated with scholars who don't particularly like literature."

Unfortunately, it is not only ideologues who lack the patience and understanding for poetry as it is embodied in imaginative prose literature, let alone verse (let alone particularly *modern* verse). "The language of literature," Alter explains,

> abundantly draws on ordinary language and achieves its coherences through operations that are sometimes instructively analogous to those of ordinary language, but it carries them to a higher exponential power, transmits through them messages of a different order. To read this language adequately requires a prehensile activity of the mind on the details of the text as it unfolds, a willingness to entertain multiple and unresolved meanings, an openness to the pleasures in the sound and look and combination of the words. All three of these capacities are bound to grow the more one reads, and that is probably why at the moment they are in a general state of decay. . . . And precisely because so many of our reading habits these days are acquired through exposure to thinner, more univocal, less complexly pleasurable uses of language, we need to understand more clearly the inflections and the underlying patterns of the special language of literature.

The final sentence, written in the era of Alice Walker and Bobbie Ann Mason, *Spy* magazine and the poetry of Mrs. Daniel Ortega, is a gem of understatement that the wit of Calvin Coolidge would have had to struggle to transcend.

The Pleasures of Reading could with nearly equal plausibility have been entitled *How to Think about Writing Imaginative Literature*. Alter's book can be turned inside out, like one of those handsome reversible jackets Abercrombie & Fitch used to make. At times the novelist, reading it, is likely to discover himself in a position analagous to that of M. Jourdain, impressed to discover that what he has been writing all these years really *are* novels. But really, *The Pleasures of Reading* seems to me to have been written for the small, almost undiscoverable remnant: those people who—congenital misfits in the age of video TV and the Sony Walkman—hunger after the printed word as for the bread of life, realizing perhaps that, after all, the two amount to somewhat of the same thing. □

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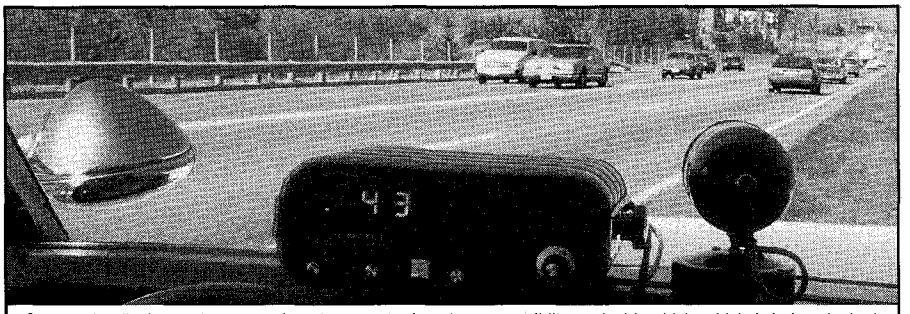
→ the old Alec Wilder or Artie Shaw jazz chamber groups, with the strings replaced by clarinets. The Hogwood ensemble takes on these suites with verve and a considerable beat—almost an invitation to the fox-trot—liberating Bach from any Sunday-go-to-meeting atmosphere. The sonatas and partitas, some of the loveliest and most exhilarating music for unaccompanied violin, stand forth in the sumptuous tone and superb phrasing of Perlman, who is no stranger to jazz.

☐ "Tallis is dead, and music dies," lamented his contemporary William Byrd. And so it did, in England at least, although the musicologists contemplating Tallis, Byrd, and Purcell, have never been able to explain the demise of English music. It may be that a proper post-mortem would find a clue in the severance of the English church from its Latin roots—a severance from the ties of music to the liturgy. In the case of Tallis, his genius bifurcated as he struggled to be loyal at once to the Latin ritual and to the hymnal Christianity that followed the Tudor bill of divorcement from Rome. But in the music of ritual, at least, he was able to hold firm, as we hear in a new two-volume collection titled *Latin Church Music* (Vols. I & II, Angel-EMI CDC 7 49555 2 & CDC 7 49563 2), recorded by the Taverner Consort and Choir, directed by Andrew Parrott. This music, deriving from the Gregorian, is almost other-worldly in quality. The Lamentations, motets from the *Cantiones Sacrae*, the *Spem in alium*, and the Complete Responds shimmer, a music vibrant with the filaments of faith, which both bind and liberate.

☐ The snobbery that once dismissed Tchaikovsky for his alleged indulgence in over-romantic huffery is disappearing as musical tastes change. Tchaikovsky once confessed that he frequently composed out of an "invincible inward impulse"—which seems to say: run up and down the stairs until you are out of breath and then knock off a symphony. But there was real emotion and lyricism in much of his writing, and if it was not computer-conceived, *tant pis*! So I commend to you his Concerto for Violin and Orchestra in D Major, in spite of the drum-major conducting of Herbert von Karajan as he leads the great Vienna Philharmonic. The reason: a superlative reading by the young Sophie-Anne Mutter, a soloist who moves from the classical to the romantic with absolute ease and perfect taste and who never lets a fine technique interfere with the music (Deutsche Grammophon 419 241-2).

☐ Some of the credit for the recording of Heinrich Schütz's funeral Mass, the *Musicalische Exequien*, goes to "His Majesties Sagbutts and Cornetts"—or so the record jacket informs me. But do not be put off by the somewhat precious archaism. Schütz, who was born exactly one hundred years before Bach, falls between him and that greatest of all religious composers, Tomás Luis de Victoria. He was responsible for introducing into the German musical *Geist* the developments in contemporary Italy—and we can ask if Bach would have been Bach without this. He is also a composer of great



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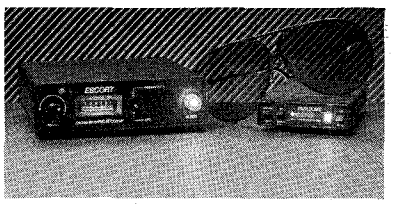

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power and religious feeling, and I have long treasured an out-of-print recording of his *Seven Last Words of Christ from the Cross*. The theme of the *Exequien* (Archiv Produktion of Polydor 423 405-2) may be summed up in its motet, "Lord, if I have but Thee, I ask not for heaven nor for earth," and the purity of its expression is fully translated by John Eliot Gardiner, the Monteverdi Choir, and the English Baroque Soloists.

☐ *Wozzeck*, Alban Berg's "revolutionary" opera, has been given a brilliant performance by Claudio Abbado and issued, in CD version, boxed with a 172-page booklet that includes the full libretto (Deutsche Grammophon 423 587-2). In separate promotional material, Abbado hails the work as the greatest opera of the twentieth century. Critics respected by me have expressed similar opinions. I have listened three times to *Wozzeck*, and the enthusiasm it has generated escapes me. It is not its atonality —atonality can be very appealing— or its dissonances —dissonance can be very beautiful—or even its addiction to the 12-tone cluster that turns me off. I find the opera strident, harsh, and cold, calling for declamation rather than singing, and never approaching the undoubted drama of its libretto. This is not the fault of Abbado, the Vienna Philharmonic, or the soloists, who give it all they have. Undoubtedly the fault is mine and I can only confess my inadequacy.

☐ The *sonate da chiesa*, instrumental church music independent of the sung liturgy, developed in Italy and moved, along with the mainstream of Italian music, north to Austria and Germany. A collection of Mozart's *Complete Church Sonatas* (London 421 297-2) has been brought together by the organist Peter Hurford and the Amsterdam Mozart Players, in what is, as always with Mozart, lovely and engaging music. Mozart took the form—they were called "Epistle Sonatas" because they came between the Epistle and the proclamation of the Gospel—and expanded the form and the instrumentation. But they are essentially secular, evoking no memories of the Mass, and echoes of Mozart's operas in the scores should not surprise you. Enough that it is delightful Mozart, in fine performance. ☐

DELECTATIONS

CRISTALL CLEAR

Nika Hazelton

A FEW WEEKS AGO, a very big bash was jointly thrown by the Soviet Mission to the UN and Pepsico—the giant American maker of soft drinks, which is also the sole importer of Russian vodka into the United States —to celebrate the introduction of Cristall, the new Soviet supervodka. The party was a smashing success.

Cristall—made by Stolichnaya, a name long familiar in America—does not have the almost raw alcoholic flavor of most other available vodkas, and naturally one wants to know why. Though it is possible to make vodka from any kind of carbohydrate, the best vodkas are made from grain. Apparently, the finest winter wheat goes into Cristall, along with pure glacial water; also, according to the press release, Cristall is distilled over a special base alcohol called Luks. Or so they say. I do not know any of the distillation processes, but I can attest that there is a real difference in the result.

There are various schools of thought on how vodka should be drunk. The Russians toss theirs down neat, from little glasses which preferably have been chilled. However, between their numerous glasses of vodka, they consume numerous hors d'œuvres called *zakuski* to insulate their innards against the strong spirit. Americans, on the other hand, tame the firewater by mixing it with tonic or with juices, as in screwdrivers and bloody Marys. (Indeed, its mixability is one reason—the other being discretion—why the fact that vodka is colorless and almost odorless was such a selling point on the American market; it is now the fastest-growing liquor in the United States, whereas whisky is being drunk less and less.) Both sides, however, agree that extreme cold is the best way of getting the stuff down. But while Cristall is also at its best chilled, it is so smooth and so delicate that it does not need either to be gulped

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à la russe or drowned in mixers. It is a vodka for sipping, not quaffing, and sipping Cristall is a very refined pursuit, indeed.

But if the vodka itself was the main attraction, I also found interesting the story of how we happened to be there under the joint auspices of Pepsico and the Soviets. The connection came about thanks to the foresight of Mr. Donald Kendall, who in 1972 signed an agreement by which Pepsico has exclusive rights to import Russian vodka to the United States and to export Pepsi-Cola to the Soviet Union. Mr. Kendall, who is now the chairman of Pepsico, was a far-sighted man. In 1959, he put on a Pepsico exhibit at the Moscow National Exhibition, and apparently managed to get into the newspapers a picture of Chairman Khrushchev drinking a bottle of Pepsi. As the press release delicately puts it, contacts with Soviet trade officials continued until and after the trade agreement of 1972 that lets the Russians drink Pepsi and us the Stolichnaya products, the best vodkas made in Russia.

The accord lasts until the year 2000,

and both Stolichnaya and Pepsi are doing well from it. I was interested to learn that during the U.S.-Soviet Summit meeting in Washington, D.C., in 1987, Stolichnaya broke all previous sales records. However, it is no longer alone in the field, and the war between the vodkas is going on full tilt. Stolichnaya is still first among the imports, but it is being challenged by Swedish and Finnish vodkas, the latter packaged in a really pretty modern bottle. (Now even the Danes want to go into the vodka-exporting business; I take this from a little bottle sent to me through the mail.) In large part, this has become a marketing game, at which Stolichnaya is very good. But the Swedish and Finnish vodkas are also advertising heavily, on billboards and in newspapers and magazines.

Part of marketing, of course, is choosing a name. As long as vodka was thought of as essentially Russian (and the word *vodka* is a diminutive of *voda*, or water—making vodka, if you will, the "little water of life"), then Russian names were in order. Smirnoff, which is the best-known brand in the U.S., inexpensive and suitable for mixing, is actually an American product. But now that explicitly non-Russian vodkas are doing so well, a name like Cristall—suggesting purity and lightness—seems just the thing.

In any case, the introduction of Cristall was accomplished with great éclat. Everybody wanted to see what the Russians were up to in their grand private house. What the tasting proved, at least to me, is that fancy hors d'œuvres are unnecessary with a fine spirit like Cristall. Except caviar, of course, which is still the best accompaniment to vodka. And since we are playing Russian games, why not caviar, Russia's best-known product?

APOLOGY: I am so sorry to have lost the name and address of the gentleman interested in sulfites. But I want to thank him for his munificent gift of cheese, in response to a very small favor I was happy to do. □

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

Modern Manners: An Etiquette Book for Rude People, by P. J. O'Rourke (Atlantic Monthly Press, 280 pp., $16.95)

I READ *Modern Manners* for five minutes in genuine amusement, waiting for the short, humorous paragraphs to build into something mildly profound, or at least significant. But after 39 pages, four chapters, and a million sub-chapters, I might as well have been reading *The Best of David Letterman*. For instance: "Good manners can replace religious beliefs. In the Episcopal Church they already have. Etiquette (and quiet, well-cut clothing) is devoutly worshipped by Episcopalians." Eventually, you don't even need the prompter to know when to laugh. O'Rourke leaves nothing and no one untouched. "It may be years before anyone knows if what you are doing is right. But if what you are doing is nice, it will be immediately evident. . . . When Miss Kopechne seemed to be in trouble, Senator Kennedy swam all the way to Edgartown rather than run up a stranger's phone bill calling for help." *Modern Manners* contains O'Rourke's usual well-crafted wit and attractively decadent humor, but lacks the purpose and weight of *Republican Party Reptile* or *Holidays in Hell*. I did, however, say it had a hint of profundity. Here's the first page—his description of the book: "The modern world is a horrid place. . . . All existence is in disarray. Religious beliefs are no longer believed. Love is much discussed but little practiced. Morals are in confusion when they are in evidence at all. And intellect is no consolation: modern intelligence has become well-nigh unintelligible. . . . Given that life is such a mess, why should anyone care which fork is for the oysters?" Nevertheless, the book does have a nice cover, which makes it worth keeping; so when you're sitting around the den having a few afternoon—or afterhour—cocktails, you can pull it out for guidance: "Actually, there is no way to make vomiting courteous. You have to do the next best thing, which is to vomit in such a way that the story you tell about it later will be amusing. It's always good manners to provide entertainment." Excuse me, I don't feel so well.

GEOFFREY MORRIS

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Personal

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WHY ARE THE LIBERALS WHITEWASHING?

NEW YORK, JUNE 9

IS FAIRLY RECENT American history going down the memory hole? In the *New York Times* last month, a writer referred to the late Paul Robeson as the "progressive" black singer-actor. Claude Pepper, *Time* magazine reports, was called "Red" Pepper in the late Forties, the direct result of McCarthyism, and was defeated for reelection to the Senate in 1950 because of his "liberal" policies. Now, Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist Party. *Pravda*, in 1947, listed Pepper among a half-dozen "sincere friends" of the Soviet Union.

And then Owen Lattimore dies. *Time* magazine in its little obituary says of him that he was charged in 1950 by Senator McCarthy with being the top Soviet espionage agent in America, but that "all charges against him were eventually dropped." Four years ago, *People* magazine (*People* is a branch of Time, Inc.) remarked of Owen Lattimore: "The professor's 'crime' consisted of predicting the fall of the Chinese Nationalist government and urging the U.S. to deal rationally with Mao."

And now Tom Wicker cites the ordeal of Owen Lattimore in the *New York Times*: "In July 1950, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee exonerated Mr. Lattimore. Two years later, however, because of his testimony to McCarthy's subcommittee, a federal grand jury indicted him for perjury. . . . A federal judge dismissed the charges as so formless and obscure that if Mr. Lattimore were made to stand trial on them, they would make 'a sham of the Sixth Amendment.' . . . For five years," Mr. Wicker weeps, "an innocent man lived under the shadow of false charges that then were about as serious as anyone could suffer."

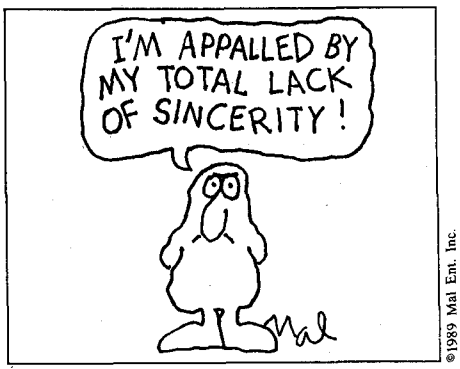
Okay? Lattimore never testified before the McCarthy subcommittee. He did testify before the Senate Committee on Internal Security, whose chairman was Pat McCarran. After exhaustive testimony, that committee, a majority of whose members were Democratic, ruled unanimously that for a period of years Owen Lattimore had served as a "conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy." The dropping of the charges against him (by Judge Luther Youngdahl) was a purely technical finding, wholly unrelated to Lattimore's activities.

Now even in advance of the testimony before the McCarran Committee, *Time*—hardly a McCarthyite publication—reviewing the public record, wrote that Lattimore had done "a great deal to spread this paralyzing poison [Communism] through the West's thinking. . . . Lattimore's ideas did work to thwart the development of an effective program of U.S. help to anti-Communist forces in China."

Lattimore lied profusely in his testimony to the McCarran Committee. But the direction of his political sympathies had been made quite explicit by his publisher's description of Lattimore's own book, *Solution in Asia*—and it was published in 1945. The thesis of the book appeared on the jacket: "He [Lattimore] shows that all the Asiatic people are more interested in actual democratic practices, such as the ones they can see in action across the Russian border, than they are in the fine theories of Anglo-Saxon democracies which come coupled with ruthless imperialism. . . . He inclines to support American newspapermen who report that the only real democracy in China is found in Communist areas."

So much for the victim of McCarthyism.

While we're at it, so much for *People* magazine's sense of history. And so much for Tom Wicker's fatuous attempt to make his frantic point that the fate of Lattimore is now being visited on Tom Foley by the ass in the Republican National Committee who wrote a silly memo from which only silly people would conclude that the charge was made that Tom Foley is gay.



It is all very surprising. In fact there were pro-Communists in America, and by the way a few of them are still left, even as there are a few left in China. But one would think American liberals would be the first to distinguish between themselves, and such as Robeson, the Pepper of 1948, and the Lattimore of the Forties and Fifties. □

SO WHAT DO WE DO NOW?

NEW YORK, JUNE 5

PUNDITS WHO need to opine on the developments in China and fear that what we write on Monday will be obsolete on Tuesday can take comfort, even if the National Security Council, the State Department, and the Pentagon can't, over the extraordinary failure of our Sinological cadre, in the academies here in America and in our diplomatic outposts in China, to have predicted: anything. They did not sense the latent resentment of the population at large, did not foresee the initial success of the demonstrators; they predicted a crackdown when it did not happen, did not predict a crackdown when it did happen, and did not predict the severity of the crackdown.

Mrs. Bette Bao Lord, born in China—a brilliant analyst and novelist—said on CBS that she didn't think "anyone would have guessed they [the authorities] would be so brutal." Lacking in historical perspective? The executors of the Cultural Revolution were ten times more brutal, and they were, well, also Chinese. And her learned husband, Winston Lord, our most recent ambassador-on-the-scene in China, announced that the Chinese government had "lost all legitimacy," raising the question: When, and just how, did the Chinese government acquire legitimacy? Other than by exercising de-facto authority over Chinese life? If that is all it takes, who is to say that the government of Deng & Li will lose its legitimacy? All they need to do is to continue governing, and that precisely is their manifest objective.

It is revealing to study the ways of our professional diplomatic and journalistic managers. At this writing, the estimate (of

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the BBC) is that 2,600 people have been killed, in the first 36 hours of Deng's repression. That is a lot of people, by one perspective. It is almost as many people as the United States has executed for capital offenses since Chiang Kai-shek came to power. So we have graduating perspectives: 1) Killing somebody because he is guilty of murder. 2) Killing somebody because he is creating, as Deng charged, "anarchy."

And then, 3) killing somebody because he stands in your aggressive path. Khomeini, whom the Prophet permitted to die before Rushdie, killed one million Iranians in his pointless war against Iraq, and he is mourned by a multitude equal at least to the multitude we saw at Tiananmen Square. Gorbachev stepped into the Afghan invasion, appointed a fiercer general than the incumbent, and the rate of killing increased, reaching 1.2 million Afghans before the decision was made to pull out.

ABC's Chinese correspondent said that the Chinese government had forever "lost its credibility." An interesting question: If tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow, the government of Gorbachev were to slaughter 2,600 Lithuanians, or Armenians, or Ukrainians—would it lose its credibility? An ABC correspondent on the Brinkley program accosted guest Henry Kissinger and said, Look, this is the country of Thomas Jefferson, can't we do something more to the Chinese than merely "deplore" —he managed a facial condescension in giving out the word used by President Bush—the action of the Chinese government? Another interesting question: What did we do other than deplore the action by the Soviets in 1956 in Hungary when they ran their tanks over students, and hanged the premier? Or, 12 years later, when they took comparable action against Czechoslovakia? The answer is: You don't get really and truly mad at superpowers that dispose of nuclear weapons. You deplore what they did in the sanctuaries of editorial offices or in the UN Security Council.

We should rue the awful ignorance from which we all suffer about what really goes on in the mind of the tyrants. Kissinger is right—Deng Xiaoping hardly welcomed a situation similar to one of which he was the victim: the Cultural Revolution put him in jail for ten years and made a paraplegic of his son. And now he is seized, in Karl Wittfogel's phrase, with the megalomania of the aging despot, and rather than acknowledge the right of his citizens peaceably to assemble in order to petition the government for a redress of grievances—a right guaranteed to Americans by the First Amendment—he shoots them; and, tomorrow, may hang those his fusiliers missed.

The only thing we can reasonably do isn't, at this point, fustian retaliation. A moral freeze is in order. Then wait. Wait to see what happens. Whom will we be dealing with? What might be the effect of sanctions withheld? And—finally—do we really have effective, usable sanctions, against the third superpower, in an age where we seek a triangular disposition of power, rather than the pre-1960 hegemony, China/USSR versus—us?

We can loathe what was done, and learn from it. Do not be surprised, Virginia. That kind of thing can happen in countries like that, and regularly does. □

CURB SPEAKING FEES?

NEW YORK, JUNE 7

THE UPROAR about congressmen and speaking fees is difficult to understand. That it should focus on the saleability of our legislators is discouraging, as also it is discouraging that our legislators are in the position they are to do financial favors for individual industries. In a well-run world, there wouldn't really be any point in trying to bribe a legislator because there wouldn't be anything he could do for you.

USA Today published on Thursday, May 25, a list of senators and congressmen, indicating how much each gave to charity from his speaking fees, and what that came to as a percentage of his speaking income. For instance, Congressman Gallo of New Jersey gave 100 per cent of his $4,600 speaking income to charity, as did Senators Boschwitz ($15,900), McCain ($33,635), and Metzenbaum ($100). By contrast, Senators Domenici and Garn and Leahy and Packwood gave none of their income from speaking to charity—but then none earned more than $100. It isn't easy to see how you can bribe Senator Metzenbaum for $100, but if it were possible to alter his vote, I would pay him $200, cash, to vote other than the way he is inclined to vote, any day, on any issue.

Now it isn't only trivial figures we are dealing with. Dan Rostenkowski is the head of the Ways and Means Committee, which is the most important in Congress affecting taxes, and he reported an income last year for appearances of $222,500, which is a considerable income. We must assume that the people who paid to hear him were eager to influence him. But that is the business of lobbyists, whether lobbies arguing in favor of abortion rights, or lobbies in favor of textile tariffs. Their job is to attract the attention of legislators to hear their arguments, and the subtle question arises—are such lobbies putatively engaged in bribing a congressman by paying him a substantial lecture fee?

An issue was made of the question in the race last year in which Joseph Lieberman successfully challenged Senator Lowell Weicker. Lieberman made heavy weather over Weicker's having missed a number of votes because he was out of town speaking. Now the presumption is reasonably indulged that anyone who paid money to hear Lowell Weicker speak had in mind getting him to vote for something. On the other hand, Mr. Lieberman failed to take into account the benefit to the public interest by Mr. Weicker's absence from the roll call in the Senate.

What seems to upset the Manichaean notion that our legislators are for sale is the sums of money involved. The highest of the lot is the Tobacco Institute, which paid out a total of $104,000 to congressmen. That simply isn't very much money, when you think in terms of 535 legislators. General Electric paid $22,000—what is GE going to get for $22,000? They'd have done better to send an electric toaster to every senator, surely.

The kind of real graft that goes on is in two forms. One is contributions to election campaigns, from which, one notes in passing, Democrats are the prime beneficiaries. There are miscellaneous laws governing corporate giving, but there are ways to circumvent these laws, and PAC money goes in great quantities to congressmen—which is a reason why the incumbents win 98 per cent of the time. It is an affront on representative government that election to the House these days is something on the order of a tenured appointment.

BUT YOU GET BACK to the basic question, which is that of government spending. Professor Milton Friedman said a while ago that he wouldn't care if the deficit were equal to 100 per cent of the budget—if the budget were as low as budgets ought to be. Why should the Tobacco Institute be interested in legislation? Because it wants a continuation of high subsidies which it ought never to have had in the first instance. And this isn't a point made at the expense of nicotine: farmers growing corn and wheat shouldn't have subsidies, even as manufacturers shouldn't have tariffs. Congress is increasingly thought of as primarily an instrument of the redistribution of wealth. If Congress smiles on wheat, then the taxpayers send their money to farmers. If they smile on Detroit, then quotas are laid down to prohibit taxpayers from buying the incremental automobile made in Japan.

The rule of law had no such idea in mind for the well-governed republic. A government can and on occasion ought to act as the final agent for helping the truly destitute—but only after lower echelons of government have reached the point of exhaustion. Governments should pass basic laws, which have nothing to do with the redistribution of wealth. It would be worth it to pay our legislators much more than they earn from public speaking to persuade them to read, oh, *The Constitution of Liberty*, by F. A. Hayek. □

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ABERNATHY
ABERNETHY
ABRAHAM(S)
ABRAMS
ACHESON
A(C)KERLY
ACKERMAN
ACKERS
ACTON
ADAIR
ADAM(S)
ADKINS
AGAR
AGER
AGNEW
AIKEN(S)
AINSWORTH
AITKEN
AKERS
ALBERT(S)
ALBRECHT
ALBRIGHT
ALDEN
ALDERMAN
ALDERSON
ALDRICH
ALDRIDGE
ALEXANDER
ALFORD
ALGER
ALLAN
ALLEN
ALLISON
ALLMAN
ALSOP
ALSTON
ALVORD
AMANN
AMBLER
AMBROSE
AMES
AMMANN
AMOS
ANDERSON
ANDREW(S)
ANGELL()
ANTHONY
ANTRIM
APPLEBY
APPLEGATE
APPLETON
ARCHER
ARCH(I)BALD
ARMI(S)TEAD
ARMITAGE
ARMSTRONG
ARNDT
ARNETT
ARNOLD
ARNOTT
ARROWSMITH
ARTHUR
ASBURY
ASHBY
ASH(E)
ASHLEY
ASHTON
ASTON
ATCHISON
ATHERTON
ATKINS
ATKINSON
ATWATER
ATWELL
ATWOOD
AUBR(E)Y
AUSTIN
AVERELL
AVERILL
AVERY
AXTELL
AYER(S)
AYRES
BABBITT
BABCOCK
BACH(E)
BACHMAN(N)
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BADGER
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BAGGOTT
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BAGWELL
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BALLINGER
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CRITTENDEN
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CROFT
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CROSBY
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CROSS
CROS(S)MAN
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CROXTON
CROZIER
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CRUTCHER
CULBERTSON
CULLEN
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CULVER
CUMMIN(G)S
CUNNINGHAM
CURL(E)(S)
CURRIE
CURRIER
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CURTIN
CURTIS
CUSHING
CUSHMAN
CUTHBERT
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CUTTING
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DAIL(E)Y
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DALRYMPLE
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DAM(E)RON
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DANA
DANE
DANFORTH
DANIEL(S)
DAN(N)
DARBY
DARLING
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DARNALL
DANELL
DARRA(G)H
DARROW
DART
DAUGHERTY
DAVENPORT
DAV(E)Y
DAVID(S)
DAVI(D)SON
DAVIE
DAVI(E)S
DAWE(S)
DAWSON
DAY
DAYTON
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DEA(E)
DEARBORN
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DI(E)RING
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DENNETT
DENN(E)Y
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DEPUE
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DEVERE(A)UX
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DEWITT
DEWOLF(E)
DEXTER
DIBBLE
DICK(E)
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DIETRICH
DIGG(E)S
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DRAKE
DRAPER
DRESSER
DREW
DREWRY
DRINKWATER
DRIVER
DRUMMOND
DRURY
DRYDEN
DUBOIS
DUCKWORTH
DUDLEY
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DUFFIELD
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DUG(G)AN
DUKE(S)
DULAN(E)Y
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FITZPATRICK
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HASSAM
HASTINGS
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HATCHETT
HATFIELD
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HAUS(E)MAN(N)
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HENDRICK(S)
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HOLLINGSWORTH
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HOOPER
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HORTON
HOSKIN(S)
HOSMER
HOTCHKISS
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HOUSER
HO(U)STON
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HUME(S)
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HUNGERFORD
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HUNTINGTON
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HUR(L)BU(R)T
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HURST
HUSBAND(S)
HUSSEY
HUTCHE(R)SON
HUTCHIN(G)S
HUTCHIN(N)SON
HUTTER
HUTTON
HYATT
HYDE
HYLAND
IDE
INGALL(S)
INGE
INGERSOLL
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IRBY
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IRVIN(E)
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ISAAC(S)
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ISHAM
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IV(E)Y
IVINS
JACKMAN
JACK(S)
JACKSON
JACOB(S)
JACQUES
JAE(G)ER
JAMES
JAM(I)(E)SON
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JAQUES
JARMAN
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JAY(E)
JEFF(E)RIES
JEFFERSON
JEFFERY(S)
JEFFREY(S)
JEN(C)K(E)S
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JUSTICE
KA(I)N(E)
KAISER
KARL
KAVANA(U)GH
KAY(E)
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MABEE
MABIE
MABR(E)Y
M(A)CARTHUR
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MCADAM(S)
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MERC(I)ER
MEREDITH
MER(R)IAM
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MESSENGER
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METCALF(E)
MEYER(S)
MICHAEL
MICKLE
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MITCHEL(L)
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MYER(S)
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NEAL(E)
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NORWOOD
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NOTTINGHAM
NOWELL
NOYES
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REINHAR(D)(T)
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SABIN
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SADLER
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SALE(S)
SALISBURY
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SAM(P)SON
SAMUEL(S)
SANBORN
SANDERSON
SAND(S)
SANFORD
SANGER
SARGENT
SATTERLEE
SAUER
SAU(N)DERS
SAVAGE
SAVIER
SAWYER
SAXON
SAXTON
SAYER(S)
SAYLES
SAYRE
SCALES
SCARB(O)ROUGH
SCARLETT
SCHA(E)F(F)EK
SCHELL
SCHENC)K
SC(H)ERER
SCHMID(T)
SCHMIT(T)
SCHNEIDER
SCH(H)OFIELD
SCHOOLEY
SCHOTT
SCHRADER
SCHRECK
SCHRO(E)DER
SCHROETER
SCHUBERT
SC(H)ULER
SC(H)ULTZ
SCHUMACHER
SCHUMAN(N)
SCHUSTER
SCHUTZ(E)
SCHUYLER
SCHWAB
SCHWAR(T)Z
SCOTT
SCOVILL(E)
SCRIBNER
SCRUBBS
SCUDDER
SCULL
SEAL(S)
SEAMAN
SEARCY
SEARL(E)(S)
SEARS
SEATON
SEAVER
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SHAF(F)ER
SHANAHAN
SHANK(S)
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SNOWDEN
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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Game for all the marbles — CHAMPIONSHIP (19 110 29 139 40 71 54 2 120 159 166 96)

B. Merrymaking—especially in San Francisco? — GAIETY (74 45 123 21 86 136)

C. Feat — ACHIEVEMENT (41 61 148 1 135 167 97 72 15 130 25)

D. Answer to a subtraction problem — DIFFERENCE (108 93 34 46 75 98 7 23 125 113)

E. Bataan's horrific event (2 words) — DEATH MARCH (22 65 51 76 134 153 144 112 137 88)

F. You, reflexively — YOURSELF (157 24 4 81 31 60 107 122)

G. Billy the Kid's first toy? — HOBBY HORSE (36 154 128 56 44 102 106 117 10 168)

H. Vocation — OCCUPATION (138 152 164 30 80 62 101 48 115 8)

I. So-so — UNREMARKABLE (116 124 14 37 5 73 162 99 151 59 49 27)

J. Hide away — SECRETE (64 129 118 39 16 158 84)

K. Result — EFFECT (103 67 91 160 131 20)

L. With airs — AFFECTEDLY (141 92 47 78 3 43 32 146 17 104)

M. Mideastern country (2 words) — NORTH YEMEN (155 33 42 87 69 161 163 140 95 55)

N. Bank transaction — DEPOSIT (143 18 150 82 100 50 35)

O. Thick-set — STUBBY (114 147 57 6 26 79)

P. Upper-jaw canines — EYETEETH (89 132 111 9 165 70 52 105)

Q. A gender — NEUTER (142 149 126 58 119 12)

R. One kind of *particle* — ATOMIC (11 109 66 127 38 85)

S. A sense — TOUCH (133 121 63 28 77)

T. The thumb, in baseball — EJECTION (156 83 13 94 68 53 90 145)

1 C I	2 A N	3 L C	4 F U	5 I M	6 O B	7 D E	8 H N	9 P T	10 G S		11 R A	12 Q R	13 T E		14 I R	15 C E	16 J E	17 L L	18 N E
19 A C	20 K T	21 B E	22 E D		23 D N	24 F O	25 C T		26 O B	27 I E	28 S C	29 A A	30 H U	31 F S	32 L E		33 M O	34 D F	
35 N T	36 G H	37 I E	38 R I	39 J R		40 A P	41 C A	42 M R	43 L T	44 G Y		45 B A	46 D F	47 L F	48 H I	49 I L	50 N I	51 E A	52 P T
53 T I	54 A O	55 M N		56 G B	57 O U	58 Q T		59 I B	60 F E	61 C C	62 H A	63 S U	64 J S	65 E E		66 R O	67 K F		68 T T
69 M H	70 P E		71 A I	72 C M	73 I A	74 B G	75 D E		76 E T	77 S H	78 L E	79 O Y		80 H P	81 F R	82 N O	83 T J	84 J E	85 R C
86 B T		87 M T	88 E H	89 P E		90 T O	91 K F	92 L F	93 D I	94 T C	95 M E		96 A P	97 C E	98 D R	99 I K	100N S		101H T
102G H	103K E	104L Y		105P B	106G O	107F L	108D D		109R T	110A H	111P E		112E R	113D E	114O S	115H O	116I U	117G R	118J C
119Q E	120A S		121S O	122F F		123B I	124I N	125D C	126Q U	127R M	128G B	129J E	130C N	131K C	132P Y		133S T	134E H	135C E
136B Y		137E C	138H O	139A M	140M M	141L A	142Q N	143N D		144E A	145T N	146L D		147O T	148C H	149Q E		150N P	151I A
152H C		153E M	154G O	155M N	156T E	157F Y		158J T	159A H	160K E	161M Y		162I R	163M E	164H C	165P E	166A I	167C V	168G E

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 58 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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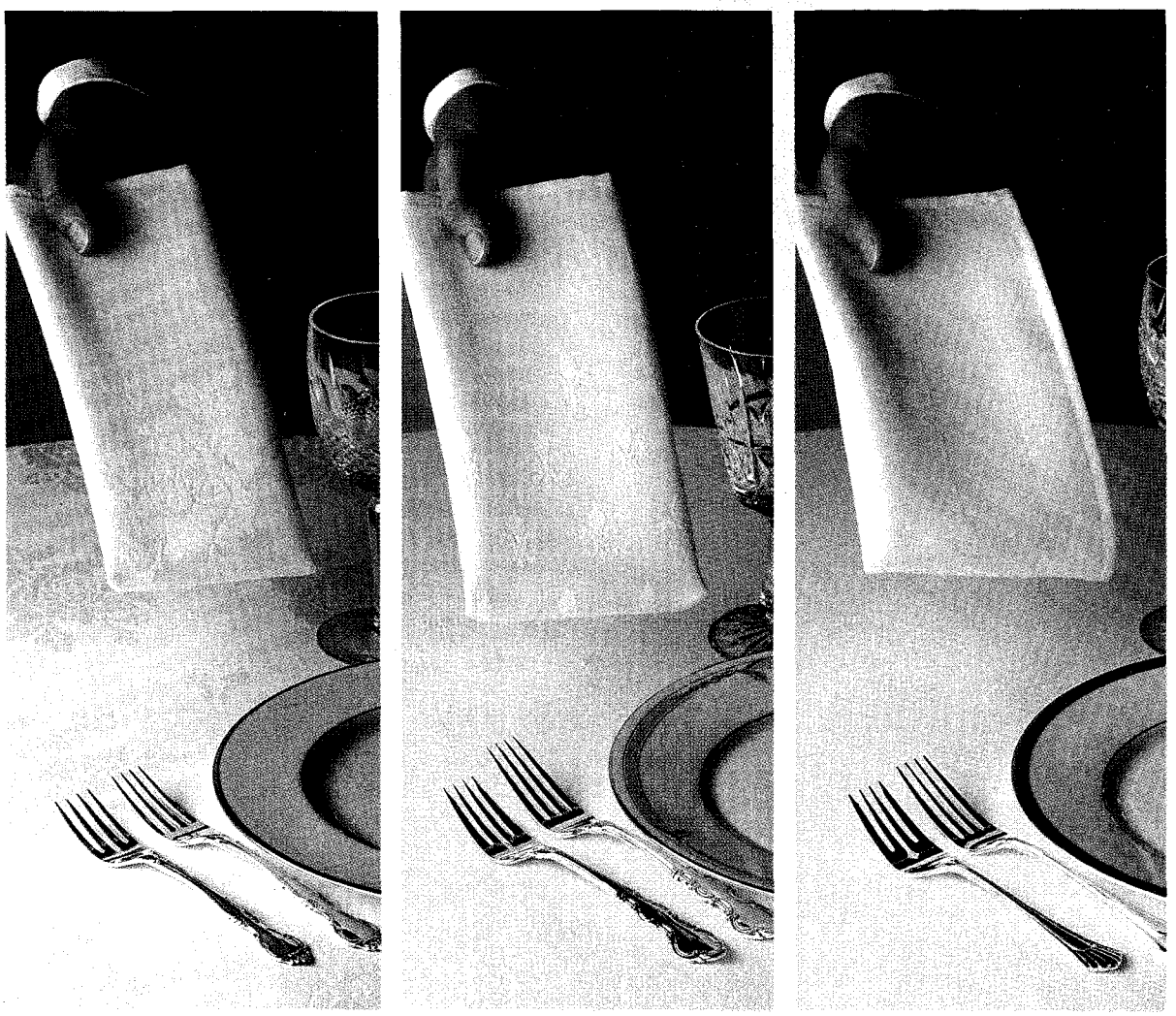

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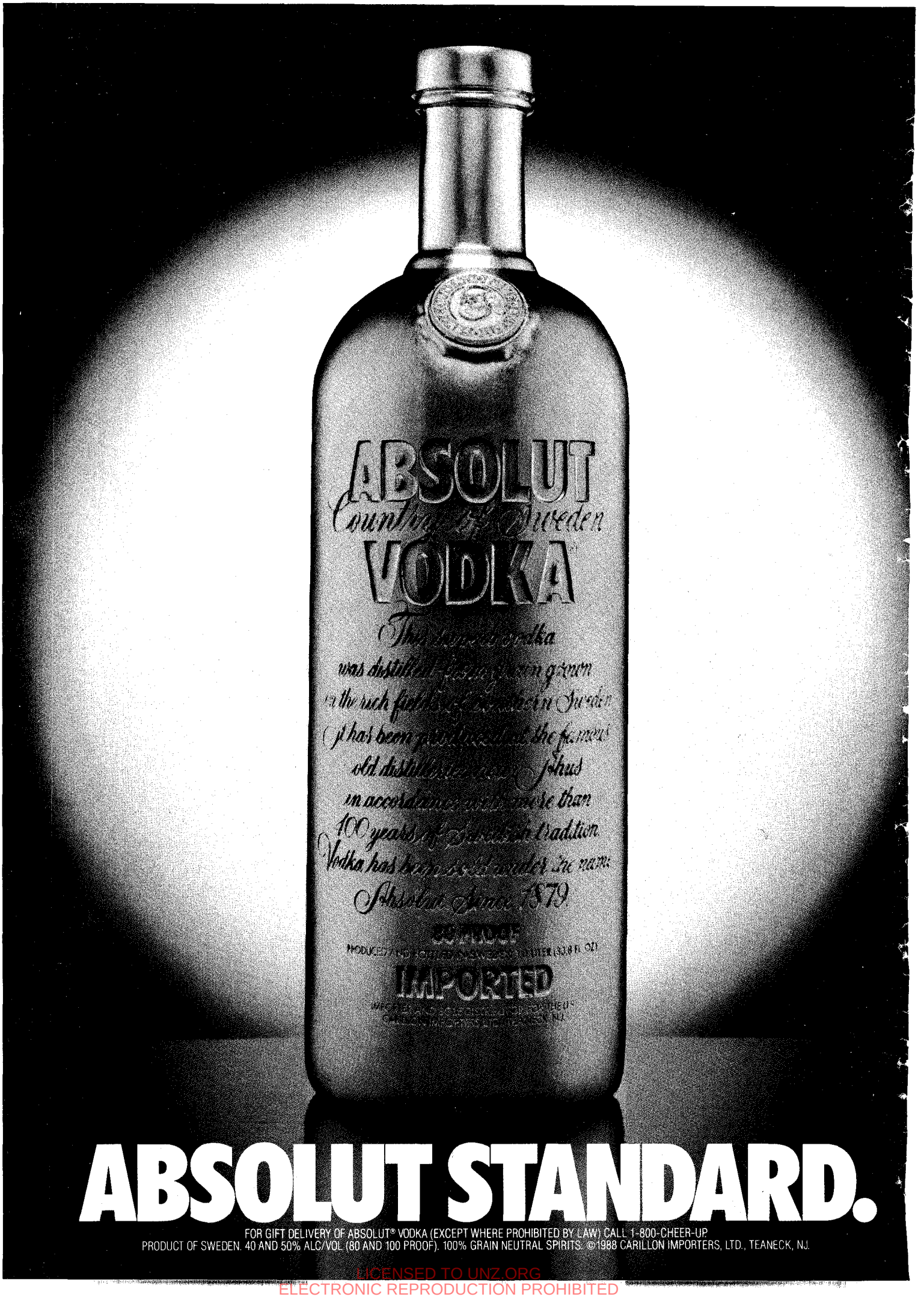

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